

NATIONAL REVIEW

Hasta La Vista, Reconquista

What the GOP Should Say
About Illegal Immigration

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■ COVER STORY

A Two-Step for America

America is a nation of *legal* immigrants. The way to maintain that tradition is for Congress to reject the amnesty and guest-worker bills in favor of a two-phase approach.

In Phase One, Congress would get serious about enforcing immigration laws—and only afterward, in Phase Two, would we increase legal immigration. *By Kate O'Beirne*

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letters to the editor

TAILOR-MADE JUSTICE

Kudos to Jay Nordlinger for pointing out the parallels between Baathist/jihadist terrorists in Iraq and Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) in Peru ("Terror on Trial," April 10).

Mr. Nordlinger mentioned that the first trial of Abimael Guzmán—Shining Path's leader—was a military trial. Guzmán was made to wear prison stripes and put in a cage. Contrast that with Saddam Hussein, who in court is always clad in a starched white shirt and dark suit.

It is greatly to Hussein's advantage to be allowed to wear what, in the West, would pass for business casual. Press accounts relate that, in jail, Hussein is forced to wear standard-issue prison garb. But in court, he appears fit for an interview on any major television network. Surely, the propaganda-savvy ex-dictator knows that he would look quite the lunatic raging about budding Iraqi democracy in a cage and prison stripes.

Eichmann was placed in a bulletproof glass booth in Jerusalem. Guzmán ranted at his judges from behind bars. Saddam Hussein, I think, would look awfully good in prison stripes.

Austen Givens
New York, N.Y.

LIKE FATHER LIKE SON

I just finished reading *The Week* (April 10) and was struck by the paragraph on Spain's legalization of same-sex marriage last year. Like NR, I hail the archbishop who blasted his country for replacing "mother" and "father" on its birth certificates with "Progenitor A" and "Progenitor B." But I'm a bit surprised that the paragraph did not address the use of the word "progenitor"—which, of course, means "director ancestor." This could be a translation problem, but, unless there has been a significant scientific breakthrough, a same-sex couple could not become progenitors of *anyone*.

Floyd H. Shadwick
Harrison, Tenn.

AN IMPOSSIBLE DEAL

In the April 10 issue, Ramesh Ponnuru reviews Charles Murray's new book, *In Our Hands* ("A Better Deal"). The book's fascinating premise is this: If we were to eliminate the welfare state in toto, every citizen over the age of 21 could instead receive an annual government check for \$5,000 to \$10,000 (the maximum for those making under \$25,000 per year; the minimum for those making over \$50,000; a range for those in between).

As much as Murray's idea wonderfully highlights the sheer expanse of our welfare state, as a serious policy proposal it is entirely impractical. Mr. Ponnuru admits pessimism that this plan, even if somehow instituted, would be sustainable: He

writes that "interest-group politics" would surely lead to pressure on the government to subsidize pet programs. That is true, but Ponnuru neglects to mention a key reason the government would expand even without interest-group politics: the charitable nature of the American people. Some people will surely blow through their \$10,000, and then what will polite society do? Let them starve in the street? Politicians—buttressed by the warm hearts of their constituents—will certainly propose very limited programs to alleviate only the most downtrodden (at first). Then perhaps the sick elderly. Or the mentally handicapped. The nature of government programs is undoubtedly one of *creep*, and this is doubly true when the public feels that compassion necessitates some form of charity.

K. Christopher Hudak
Brewster, N.Y.



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What Does This Stand For?



THE WEEK

■ Political commentator/actress Sharon Stone: "I think Hillary Clinton is fantastic. But I think it is too soon for her to run. This may sound odd, but a woman should be past her sexuality when she runs. Hillary still has sexual power, and I don't think people will accept that. It's too threatening." We're encouraged to see they have their excuses prepared already.

■ Congress is losing a man of principle. Tom DeLay spent ten years in the House leadership, helping to win victories on welfare and tort reforms, the pro-life agenda, tax cuts, and defense. Those wins put notches on his belt—and a target on his back. A Democratic prosecutor in Texas did his party's dirty work by indicting DeLay on trumped-up charges. Real criminal charges against his former aides have also been used to impugn his integrity, but there is no evidence that he was guilty of anything worse than trusting some of the wrong people. (Most of his aides, incidentally, were talented, dedicated, and honest.) All the attacks took their toll, and DeLay concluded that Republicans had a better chance of holding his seat if he resigned from it. He put his party before his own career, taking one for the team one last time.

■ For weeks, President Bush's congressional allies have grumbled that the White House is too insular, arrogant, and worn out to remedy what ails the GOP. Bush has now made clear that he disagrees with his critics. If he had meant to replace departing chief of staff Andrew Card with someone who would bring a fresh perspective, he wouldn't have tapped OMB director Josh Bolten, who joined Team Bush in 1999. The president surely could have done worse: An experienced manager and policy expert, Bolten can be counted on for a smooth transition. And we wouldn't want Bush to make changes just for changes' sake. But some new faces in the administration would display a regard for the concerns of the president's supporters—and, just maybe, bring some welcome new ideas.

■ The 2004 presidential campaign brought to light one of John Kerry's less attractive character traits, his habit of asking lesser mortals: "Do you know who I am?" There seems to be a lot of this in the party of the common man. Most recently, Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, challenged by an officer of the U.S. Capitol police force after bypassing a metal detector, swatted the officer. In the ensuing fuss, it emerged that the officer had not recognized Representative McKinney, that she was not wearing the identifying lapel pin congressmen are supposed to wear, that she failed to stop after three requests, and that the



officer then placed a restraining hand on her. Being female and black (the constable was white), Representative McKinney had two cards to play, and she proceeded to play them shamelessly. At a press conference, flanked by supporters, she declared: "This whole incident was instigated by the inappropriate touching and stopping of me, a female black congresswoman." Her attorney, in a written statement, put the incident down to racial profiling: "Ms. McKinney is just a victim of being in Congress while black." Pity the poor policeman, who was just trying to carry out his assigned duties while white.

■ We're old enough to recall a time when the GOP mainstream was against restricting campaign finance. That was about four years ago. Republicans cried bloody murder over McCain-Feingold's regulations on broadcast ads that mention candidates within 60 days of an election—regulations that, in their view, violated the First Amendment. How times change. The current crop of House leaders is pushing legislation that would bring 527s—nonprofit groups named for the section of the tax code under which they operate—under McCain-Feingold restrictions. We don't see a political advantage in this: Yes, liberal groups have received the bulk of 527 cash till now, but many such groups are already shifting their fundraising efforts toward other kinds of nonprofits; and even if they weren't, there's no reason Republicans can't play the 527 game as well as Democrats have done. Politics aside, restricting 527s is an unacceptable limit on speech. We may not like it that liberal billionaires champion causes we disagree with, but they have the right to do so—and there's nothing conservative about trying to regulate them to defeat.



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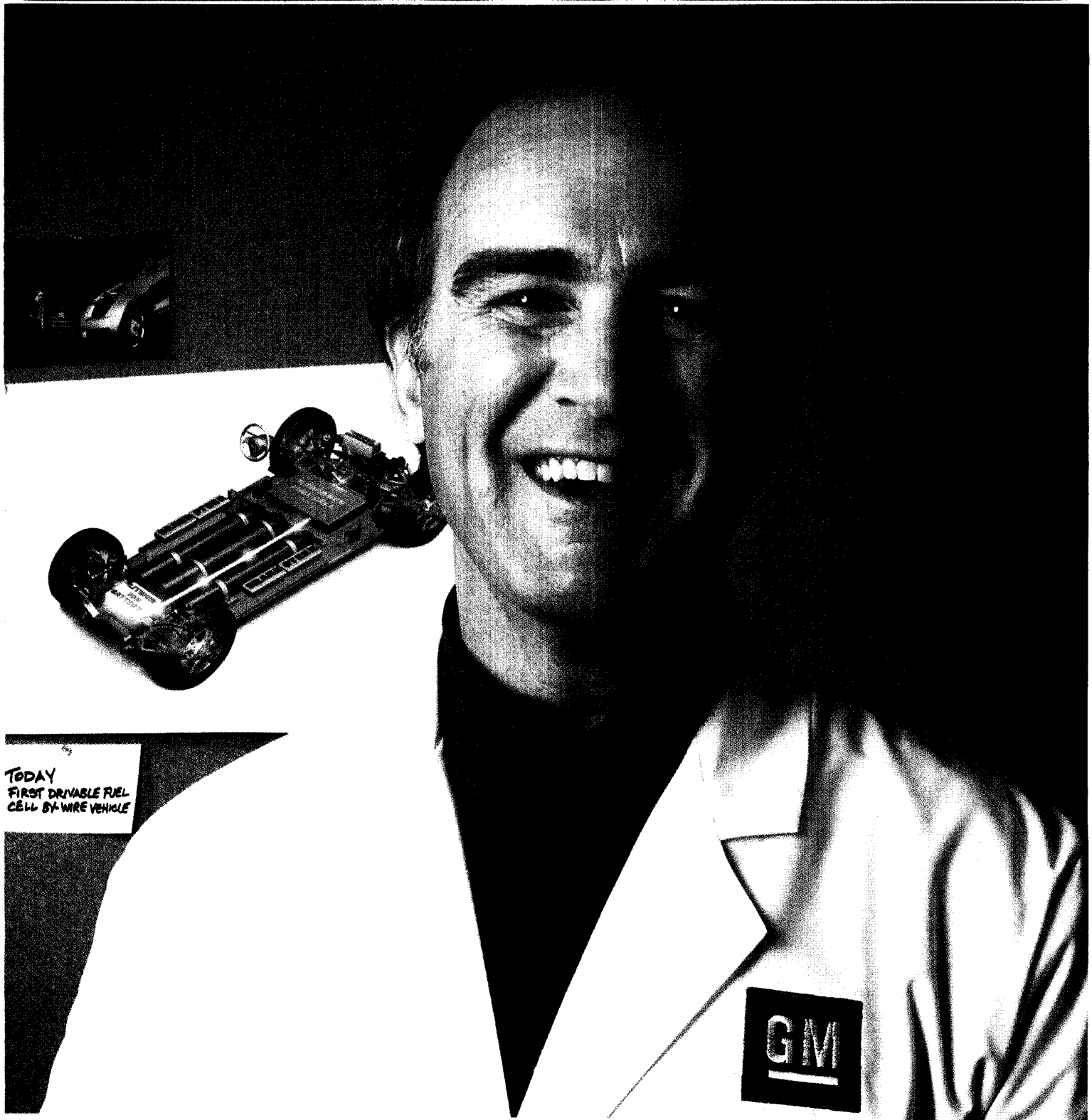
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Larry Burns

DRIVING AMERICA'S ECONOMY

Only



THE WEEK...

■ The Senate has voted 90 to 8 to approve a lobbying-reform bill. We're pleased to report that it's still illegal to defraud your clients of millions of dollars, as Jack Abramoff has admitted doing. Of course, it has always been illegal to do that, so lobbying reform won't change that issue much. In fact, lobbying reform, as passed by the Senate, won't do much of anything. It will make the whole process a bit more transparent, which is nice. But it won't attack the pernicious system of earmarks. Making it impossible for lawmakers to slip such spending measures into bills without anyone's reading them would be a real, if modest, reform. But even that was farther than the Senate was willing to go.

■ A lot of companies have not set aside enough money to pay for promised pensions, and the federal government is on the hook for a lot of the gap. President Bush asked Congress to shore up the pension system, getting companies to increase their contributions and thus limit taxpayers' exposure. As legislation has moved through Congress, however, every industry or company with a good lobbyist seems to have been able to persuade some lawmaker to loosen the rules for it. (The airlines have made out like bandits.) In its current form, the legislation appears to have the net effect of *increasing* the likelihood of large taxpayer bailouts. The administration has threatened a veto if the bill contains too many sweetheart deals. If?

■ Mike Bloomberg, the mayor of New York, says that America needs illegal immigrants. He told a radio host: "You and I both play golf. Who takes care of the greens and the fairways in your golf course?" They don't call them country-club Republicans for nothing.

■ An old statute in Massachusetts keeps couples from coming to the commonwealth to get married in violation of their home states' laws. The highest court in Massachusetts—the same court that rewrote the commonwealth's marriage laws—has graciously decided to abide by that law. So same-sex marriages will not be one of the state's exports. One should be grateful

even for small favors. But the way is still open for other states' courts, and federal courts, to redefine marriage throughout the land. More and more lawsuits seek to bring about that result, and the only way to ensure that this issue is settled democratically is to amend the Constitution.

■ Scientists have been able to take cells from the testes of mice and transform them into "pluripotent" stem cells—the same kind of stem cells that can be derived from embryos. Their work suggests that it may be possible to obtain the benefits of embryonic-stem-cell research without killing human embryos. As usual, however, the topic remains mired in confusion. When the *Washington Post* wrote up the story, the headline read "Embryonic Stem Cell Success." In truth, it is the opponents of embryonic-stem-cell research who are cheering these results most lustily.

■ When it comes to global warming, the mainstream media have never met a hysterical prediction of doom they didn't like. *Time* magazine took the fear-mongering to a new low with a global-warming cover package complete with the banner "Be worried. Be very worried." It included a photograph from Greenpeace that, according to the caption that ran with it, shows a glacier melting because of global warming. *Time* neglected to inform its readers that glaciers nearby were doing just fine, and that one had expanded. Furthermore, it failed to mention that scientists don't know exactly what is causing glaciers to shift. According to one scientific report, "It cannot yet be assessed if the ice retreat . . . indicates just regional changes of the atmospheric circulation patterns or can be assigned to global climatic change." This kind of one-sided reporting is typical not only of *Time*'s cover package, but also of all the Chicken Little reporters who follow suit.

■ The U.N. Security Council has approved a resolution demanding that Iran suspend uranium enrichment within 30 days or else . . . or else . . . what? Russia and China succeeded in blocking any language that even hinted at consequences for noncompliance. "Suspension . . . would contribute to a diplomatic, negotiated solution that guarantees Iran's nuclear program is for exclusively peaceful purposes," the resolution whines. Meanwhile, Iran has tested two new torpedoes and a missile capable of delivering multiple warheads. The mullahs will not become pacifists even if we say "pretty please." It is past time to confront that reality with a bit of backbone—and with or without Moscow and Beijing's okay.

■ Last fall French cities blazed with the light of burning cars. This spring they are snarled by demonstrations against the First Job Contract law, a baby step by the government in the direction of freeing up the labor market. The two episodes of unrest are related. What underlay the riots six months ago, besides Islamist bigotry, was the anomie of slum kids who have nothing to do (French unemployment stands at 9.6 percent, 22.2 percent for people under 25). The reason jobs are scarce is that they come so barnacled with benefits that employers will not hand them out to beginners. The proposed new law sought to encourage hiring by making firing easier during the first two years of work. But students, dreaming of

AN UNPRINTABLE REACTION

*When Jack and Condoleezza (that's
The U.K.'s Jack Straw) both
Turned up in bleeding Baghdad, one
Tried to suppress an oath;
But judging from their faces when
This duo met the press,
A bleeding—as the Brit's—curse
Alone described that mess.*

—W. H. VON DREELE





How much do you "tip" your cable TV company every month? The answer will shock you.



The vast majority of Americans don't have a real choice in television.¹
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How much more? A January report from Bank of America Equity Research says in places that allow competition, prices have dropped 28 to 42%.²
Do the math — that's an extra \$20 a month on a \$60 cable bill. It's like having to tip the cable company for the privilege of not having a real choice.
Fortunately, that might change. Congress is considering a proposal to give people a new choice to traditional cable TV.
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1. Evidence shows that the presence of another wireline operator is critical to effective competition. The General Accounting Office found that DBS (satellite) competition causes only "a slight reduction" in cable prices while "competition from a second wire-based operator appears to significantly lower cable prices." GAO-04-8: Issues Related to Competition and Subscriber Rates in the Cable Television Industry, October 2003.
2. In areas where wireline competition has been introduced, the incumbent cable provider cut prices between 28-42%. "Battle for the Bundle: Consumer Wireline Services Pricing," Bank of America Equity Research, January 23, 2006.

THE WEEK...

lifetime berths, angrily denounced the measure, while labor unions piled on. *L'état, c'est* radicals defending the status quo.

■ Columbia University held a two-day conference to discuss democracy with Libyan academics, culminating in a lecture by Moammar Qaddafi himself. Among his illuminating revelations: "There is no state with a democracy except Libya on the whole planet." Libyan professors at the event were from al-Fatah University, which has a history of hanging student dissidents. Libya is a state sponsor of terrorism and has had to pay billions in punishment for a variety of terrorist attacks. The moderator at the event, Lisa Anderson, who is dean of Columbia's School for International and Public Affairs, said, "I think it's really important that American students and the larger community get exposed to people we don't agree with." She didn't explain why the veneer of respectability an academic conference provides is necessary to expose people to the fact

that Libya is a repressive country ruled by a despotic megalomaniac. At least Qaddafi seemed to acknowledge that he is a despot: "'You ask us, 'Why do you oppress opposition in the Middle East?'" The answer: "In our countries, the opposition takes the form of explosions, assassinations, killing." Funny, isn't it, that the opposition uses the same tactics as the rulers?

■ What does the world need? Amr Moussa, secretary general of the Arab League, knows: At a recent summit of that group in Khartoum, he called on Arab states "to enter into the nuclear club and make use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes." We have boundless trust in the irenic nature of Araby. Meanwhile, elsewhere in Sudan, genocide continues . . .

■ Abdul Rahman, the Afghan convert to Christianity who was not a poster child for interfaith dialogue in his native country, has been granted asylum in Italy. Rahman was on trial for apostasy, a crime under sharia law. After the United States and other NATO countries made it clear that they did not sacrifice their blood and treasure to underwrite the judicial murder of Christians, the Afghans released Rahman on technicalities. The religious climate in Afghanistan is not quite so dire as this



Nutty While Black

The actor Danny Glover and the calypso singer/philosopher Harry Belafonte attended the press conference. Both men are well known for unfavorably comparing America with the socialist paradise of Cuba where, to be fair, elected representatives are not required to identify themselves before going through security for much the same reason unicorns aren't expected to dance before siesta time: Such creatures do not exist there.

Of course, none of this comes as much of a surprise. Representative McKinney has made a career out of saying things others don't have "the courage" to say. She heaped praise on Zimbabwean dictator Robert Mugabe, insisted that the U.S. government was selling cocaine (perhaps she knows dealers who remember to wear their CIA lapel pin?), and said that 9/11 victims were "needlessly murdered" thanks to Bush's conspiracy to allow the attacks. When she lost her primary battle in 2002, her father and political mentor spelled out the reason for her setback: "the J-E-W-S." Once reelected, in 2004, McKinney maintained a lower profile, concentrating on the most pressing issue facing black America. I'm speaking, of course, of the need to expose government involvement in the conspiracy to murder the gangsta rapper Tupac Shakur. Her legislative agenda includes H.R. 4968, better known as the "Tupac Shakur Records Release Act of 2006."

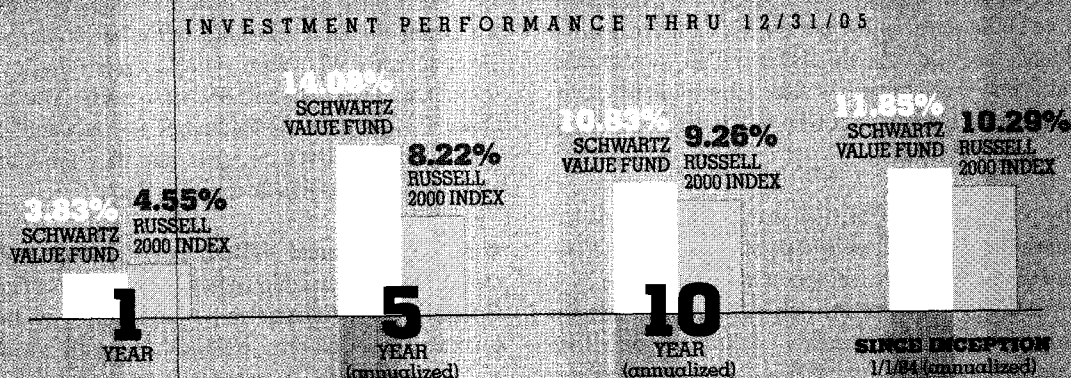
Obviously, this will play itself according to the predictable *Bonfire of the Vanities* storyline. The poor Capitol policeman who did his job will be Mark Fuhrmanized as quickly as possible. The only reason for optimism is that the whole episode was likely captured on security cameras. McKinney seems somewhat less eager to get those records released.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

As you may have heard, Rep. Cynthia McKinney is once again speaking out and sounding moronic. Here's what happened, according to witnesses. McKinney failed to wear her congressional lapel pin. She barreled past the metal detectors at a House office building and would not stop when a Capitol Hill police officer asked her to—three times. When the officer caught up with her and put his hand on her shoulder, she punched him hard in the chest. Then she identified herself as a congresswoman. She didn't follow up with "How do you like me now, pig?"—but it's the thought that counts.

At first, McKinney played it quiet. But then, when the press discovered this was hardly an isolated incident—apparently this is her fifth run-in with Capitol police—she opted to cry racism. "Let me be clear. This whole incident was instigated by the inappropriate touching and stopping of me, a female black congresswoman," McKinney said. Her lawyer expanded on the theme at a press conference: "Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney, like thousands of average Americans across this country, is, too, a victim of the excessive use of force by law-enforcement officials because of how she looks and the color of her skin. . . . Ms. McKinney is just a victim of being in Congress while black."

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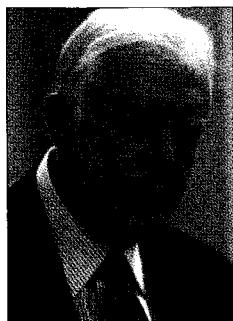
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THE WEEK...

narrative makes it appear, since many Afghan leaders struck poses on Rahman's case for political gain. Still, the fact that there is political gain in barbarism is a black mark against the Muslim world. Yet things are better in Afghanistan than they were under the Taliban, when Rahman would have been both executed and unknown. May the seeds of freedom not fall on stony ground.

■ In other news from the region, Mr. Ibragim Ismatullayev, a farmer in the republic of Kyrgyzstan, was about to dispatch a rooster so he could put it in the pot for his dinner when the rooster suddenly crowed "Allah! Allah!" The rooster was reprieved and is now a celebrity. It is also, we venture to speculate, one inhabitant of Central Asia who will *not* be converting to Christianity anytime soon.

■ Gripped by principle, four Christian peace activists traveled to Iraq to protest the war, up close and personal. For their trouble, they were abducted last November and held hostage by a gang of terrorist thugs. Tom Fox, the only American among the four, was tortured, handcuffed, and shot execution-style before having his corpse dumped in a trash heap. After that outrage, American soldiers received intelligence as to where the rest of the hostages were being held. They quickly staged a rescue mission, finding the three remaining pacifists in an abandoned building—saved by the very military force they had come to protest. We should celebrate these hostages' survival, even as we recognize the fatal naïveté of their pacifism. There is no true peace to be made with dictators and terrorists; there is only appeasement or victory. If we cannot muster the courage to fight the monsters of this world, our future promises nothing but death or enslavement—the peace of the dungeon, or of the grave.



■ Jimmy Carter has charged President Bush with many shortcomings and crimes, but he recently came up with a new one—new to us, at least. Of our efforts in Iraq, he said, "It was an unjust war." That is a weighty charge: an unjust war. Unjust for whom? For the Americans, who have had their security enhanced by the removal of a regime determined to cause them harm? For the Iraqis, who

lived under one of the most oppressive regimes in memory? Carter has always claimed to be a human-rights champion. All right: Saddam specialized in children's prisons, "rape rooms," torture chambers. In the cutting out of tongues for dissent, the placing of men in industrial shredders, the chemical-gassing of troublesome communities. You can call the war ill-advised, or unrealistic, or poorly executed; but you should blush to call it unjust. Has the ex-president—who so loves human rights—ever said a word about the positive effects of removing the Taliban and Saddam Hussein? Or does he hate George

Bush and the Republican party more than he loves human rights?

■ The European Union may be hesitant over such issues as tyranny in Africa or China, and distracted about Iraq, Hamas, or Iran's nuclear program, but it is decidedly firm on the question of the pipes in church organs: These must be banned forthwith. Governing largely by directive, the EU need not bother with the paraphernalia of accountability, and one of its innumerable directives sets limits to the amount of lead to be used in products. According to the experts, organ pipes need a lead component, perhaps as much as half, for the acoustics. The president of the Institute of British Organ Building points out that pipe makers live to a ripe old age, with no known damage to their health. The European official responsible for the ban is Margot Wallstrom, a Swedish lady who does much to raise the level of comedy throughout the continent. She now says, "You can fill all your churches with as many lead pipes as you want." But those who implement directives disagree, and they must proceed. Health and safety trumps life-threatening Bach.

■ Sometime around 1950, the clock stopped in the corner of the former Soviet Union known as Belarus. This chip off the Communist bloc is kept in a time warp by its boss, Aleksandr Lukashenko. A gloomy, balding man with a heavy moustache and a permanently sweaty forehead, he is psychotic, working first by ruse and then by force. To fix reelection as president for another seven years by a vote of over 80 percent was child's play for his apparatchiks and police, with Big Brother Putin over in Moscow approving and advising. Brave Belorussians demonstrated peacefully against this electoral farce, and the police arrested some 500 of them. Aleksandr Kazulin, a democrat who stood for the presidency and received 2.2 percent of the vote (as officially counted), led a small protest march to the prison where the demonstrators were being held. Arrested himself for hooliganism, Kazulin could face six years behind bars. Another presidential candidate, Aleksandr Milinkevich, has called for peaceful acts of public assembly. In turn, he expects to be jailed for disturbing public order. Lukashenko has meanwhile disappeared from view, presumably either to consult with Moscow or to sign a stack of warrants dating from the heyday of the Lubyanka.

■ Among the darkest pits of cruelty and horror in today's world are the labor camps of North Korea. Thanks to former camp inmate Kang Chol-hwan's 2000 memoir *The Aquariums of Pyongyang*, the Yoduk (also spelt "Yodok") complex, 70 miles northeast of Pyongyang, is the camp best known to Westerners—though, according to Kang, it is by no means the harshest. Now a stage musical named *Yoduk Story* has opened at a suburban theater in Seoul. The musical was written and directed by a North Korean defector whose father died in the camps, and draws on the experiences of camp survivors. It contains such harrowing scenes as a chorus of starving, ashen-faced prisoners in rags singing "All I want is rice" as camp guards crack whips around them. The show's producers hope to stir the consciences of South Koreans to the suffering of their compatriots in the North. South Korea's government, which publicly promotes "engagement, not confrontation" with the North, and which pri-

vately, with Germany's experience in mind, fears the burden of reunification, does not approve of *Yoduk Story*. The producers have blamed government pressure for keeping their show out of downtown Seoul. Ten days into the production, no senior government official had attended a performance.

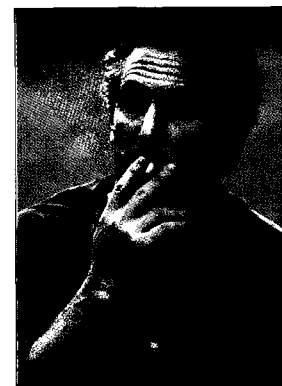
■ Invited to deliver the opening address at a summit meeting of European business leaders, French steel tycoon Ernest-Antoine Seillière stood up and began speaking in English. French president Jacques Chirac, who was in attendance, interrupted to ask why M. Seillière had chosen that language. "I'm going to speak in English because that is the language of business," replied M. Seillière. *Quelle horreur!* Chirac (whose command of English is, by the way, excellent) promptly walked out, followed by his foreign and finance ministers and their minions. Cultural sensitivities aside, there were some politics here. The business leaders' group has been critical of France's protectionist tendencies, and of the imposition, after intense French lobbying, of a French bureaucrat as head of the European Central Bank. By now, even Francophobes must be feeling a little sorry for Chirac. There was the fiasco of the referendum on a European constitution. Then there were embarrassing riots by the jobless lower-class young; then demonstrations by the entitled middle-class young; now, the indignity of being addressed by a compatriot in English—and this at a meeting sponsored by the European Union, once France's pet project. Poor Chirac! Poor France.

■ Following the Midwinter Holiday comes the Spring Holiday; and wouldn't you know it, those darn Christians are trying to make something religious out of this one, too. The city council of St. Paul, Minn., is having none of it. A council secretary had decorated the lobby of City Hall with a cloth bunny, eggs, and a sign saying (eek!) "Happy Easter," all paid for from her own pocket. The city's human-rights director, Tyrone Terrill (whose voice-mail message, one keen-eared reporter noticed, contains a segment of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech larded with Scriptural references), ordered the offending display removed, though he admitted that no one had actually complained. Subversive elements among the city's workforce have responded by quietly placing boxes of Peeps—seasonal marshmallow candies shaped like chicks and rabbits—around a City Hall statue. The statue, by Swedish pacifist Carl Milles, depicts Native Americans smoking peace pipes, and is officially known as the "Vision of Peace." The wags of St. Paul are suggesting that the statue be renamed the "Vision of Peeps." And speaking of renaming: How long can it be before the deplorably exclusionary name of this city is purged from our gazetteers?

■ To win the Distinguished Texas Scientist award, you might think you'd need to research some obscure topic, of interest only to Texas scientists—the mating patterns of the nine-banded armadillo, or industrial applications of Mexican-free-tailed-bat guano. Dr. Eric Pianka, winner of this year's award, would surely call that *anthropocentric*. "We're no better than bacteria!" he cried in his speech after accepting the prize. See, all the cool scientists these days are talking about how bad human beings are for the earth; we've overburdened our resources, and we have to

do something about it, ASAP. Enter Pianka, a.k.a. Dr. Doom: He explained that the most efficient way to reduce humankind would be via an airborne Ebola virus, which would ideally knock out 90 percent of the world's population—that is to say, around 5.8 billion people. "You know, the bird flu's good, too," he quipped. As is universal sterilization. Dr. Doom has made his name gleefully telling anyone who will listen—including a sizeable contingent of students—about his theory, and interlarding his lectures with slides of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. War, conquest, famine, death—how passé! Ebola's where it's at. Anyone who's anyone knows that.

■ *The New Yorker* has run a profile of leftist actor Sean Penn, son of the late Leo Penn. Penn père was a movie actor until blacklisted in the 1950s, an episode that caused Ann Coulter to make disparaging references to him in her recent book *Treason*. He later became a successful TV director. Penn fils, perhaps understandably, nurses a grudge against Miss Coulter. Somewhat less understandable is his method of expressing that grudge. He possesses one of those Ann Coulter dolls that decorate the desks of many of us here in the Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy. Penn did not purchase his doll for purposes of decoration, though. His delight is to torture and deface the figurine. "We violate her," says Mr. Penn. "There are cigarette burns in some funny areas." Violation of a female? In "funny areas"? By means of *cigarettes*? When leftist passions take over, apparently Political Correctness flies out the window.



■ Was there anything Caspar Weinberger did not do? He first rose to the Washington heights on the domestic side, heading the Federal Trade Commission and the Office of Management and Budget for Richard Nixon, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for Nixon and Gerald Ford. But he made his mark in the Reagan years, when he moved to military affairs, and hence foreign policy, serving as secretary of defense from 1981 to 1987. Weinberger pushed quantity and quality, overseeing a jump in spending, and the initial development of missile defense. When the Soviets realized their system could not compete with an America firing on all cylinders, they turned to perestroika—and history turned on them. Even leaders as self-directed as Ronald Reagan need right-hand men who see eye to eye with them. In the endgame of the Cold War, Caspar Weinberger was that man. Dead, at age 88. R.I.P.

■ Long ago, during a tirade against the Senate Steering Committee, Sen. Robert C. Byrd thundered, "Who is Margo Carlisle?" For more than 30 years, she was a central figure in conservatism in Washington. She ran the Steering Committee—made up of the good guys among the Republican senators—and established it as the most effective conservative force in Congress. At various times, she ran the Senate Republican Conference, headed the Council for National Policy, oversaw congressional relations for the Heritage Foundation, and

DAMIR SAGOLJ/REUTERS

THE WEEK...

presided over the Philadelphia Society. Expert in national-security matters at a time when few women were, she served as assistant secretary of defense under Ronald Reagan and was one of those who, when the Evil Empire's walls fell, could savor a job well done. Formal and dignified, she commanded respect. Gracious and caring toward friends in need, she was generous with her time and counsel. She was an expert on the Senate's rules, to her a bulwark against domestic tyranny. She died in late March. R.I.P.

■ Just five Jews escaped from Auschwitz and lived to tell the tale. Rudolf Vrba was one of them. Born in Slovakia, he was 18 when the Germans deported him in the spring of 1942, first to Majdanek, then to Auschwitz. As resourceful as he was brave, he obtained a job that allowed him to move about in the camp. In April 1944, he arranged that some friendly Poles would hide him and a companion, Fred Wetzler, under a pile of planks. In a search lasting three days, the SS failed to detect them, and they were able to get away. Once across the border into Hungary, Vrba wrote the first eyewitness report informing the world about the death camps; it was to be an important document at the Nuremberg trials. He then joined Czech partisans. *I Cannot Forgive*, the much-reprinted autobiography he published in 1964, gives a sense of what it was like to live so continuously on the edge of death. After the war, this remarkable man moved to Israel, Britain, and finally Canada, where he was a professor of pharmacology, teaching and researching and setting an extraordinary example until death did at last catch up. R.I.P.

IMMIGRATION

A Reckless Bill

OF course it's an amnesty. Supporters of the immigration bill that passed through the Senate Judiciary Committee go to great lengths to deny that the bill offers an amnesty to illegal immigrants. It is true that the bill does not confer automatic citizenship on illegal immigrants. But a bill does not have to make illegal immigrants citizens, or arrange a ticker-tape parade for them, to be an amnesty. Illegal immigrants broke American law to be able to live and work here. The Senate bill would allow them to keep living and working here. The threat of deportation, mostly a hollow threat already, would be formally abandoned. A de facto amnesty would be replaced by a de jure one. Anyone who wants to argue for this policy should not insult our intelligence by pretending that it is not an amnesty.

But insults to our intelligence are all we are getting. We are constantly told that the American economy depends on the arrival of more than a million new low-skilled workers every year—that they fill “jobs Americans won’t do.” Thus we must implement a guest-worker program and refrain from enforcing our immigration laws. Yet no other economy in the world has required such large-scale immigration to avoid collapse. Almost

every job category in America is already filled mostly by native-born Americans. Curbing illegal immigration, and curbing low-skilled legal immigration for that matter, would cause some industries to raise wages, others to substitute machines for people, and still others to move some work abroad. Markets would clear. Our GDP would do fine. Slightly higher wages for America's high-school drop-outs would not be the worst thing in the world. (It's a sad day when Paul Krugman has a clearer view of the economics of an issue than the editors of the *Wall Street Journal*.)

We are told, as well, that amnesty is the only solution because “we’re not going to deport 12 million people.” That’s a straw man. No one is seriously proposing to deport 12 million people. We believe that the country should follow a strategy of attrition. By deporting more illegals than we currently do, and stepping up enforcement of immigration laws at the border and at worksites, we can shrink the illegal population over time. The amnesty crowd has never bothered to argue against this actual alternative.

Supporters of the Senate bill would have us think that the way to control the border is to loosen our policy there; that the way to fight illegal immigration is to legalize it; that the key to our economic future is to have as many low-income, poorly educated workers as possible; and that if our schools do not do a good enough job of producing such workers we must import them from elsewhere. These propositions tax the capacity for belief. Yet four Republican senators on the Judiciary Committee supported this travesty of a bill: Lindsey Graham (S.C.), Mike DeWine (Ohio), Sam Brownback (Kan.), and Arlen Specter (Pa.).

The House passed a bill to enforce the immigration laws. That bill sparked massive protests by illegal immigrants, many of them waving Mexican flags. Apparently those protests moved some senators to support the amnesty bill. Is this really what we want more of?

The Senate bill should be filibustered. Congress should enact a bill that enforces our immigration laws. If, after a serious effort to reduce illegal immigration, some employers find that they need additional workers from Mexico, we can debate whether to increase or restructure legal immigration to accommodate them. But first the law should be enforced.

IMMIGRATION II

Political Mythology

THE White House supplements its rather weak economic case for an amnesty and a guest-worker program with a political one: Getting tough on illegal immigration would alienate Hispanics and thus endanger Republicans' long-term majority. Getting tough would replicate Pete Wilson's mistake. Governor Wilson supported an initiative to deny government benefits to illegal immigrants in California. Hispanics were angered, and the Republican party in the state was destroyed.

Except that's not the way it happened at all. The initiative won in a landslide. Wilson, having been unpopular for most of his first term, won reelection handily by campaigning for it. Four years later, he left office with solid approval ratings. The

Republican who tried to succeed him, Dan Lungren, ran away from Wilson's views on immigration. He supported bilingual education. Lungren lost big, in the same year an initiative to ban bilingual education won big. When Republicans regained the governorship in 2003, it was partly as a result of popular anger over the Democratic governor's issuance of driver's licenses to illegal immigrants. Over the last decade, Republicans have won in California when they have opposed illegal immigration and multiculturalism and lost when they surrendered to them.

Even in California, the Hispanic vote has not been central to the ups and downs of Republican fortunes. The Republican share of the gubernatorial vote dropped 17 points between 1994, when Wilson ran for reelection, and 1998, when Lungren ran. During that period, Hispanics went from being 11.4 percent of the voters to 13.9 percent of them. The Republicans' problems thus obviously went far beyond Hispanics.

Why did they do so poorly among non-Hispanics? In part because conservative voters had left the state. And those voters had left the state in part because of the economic and cultural changes that large-scale legal and illegal immigration had produced in it. Do Republicans want to repeat this story in other parts of the country?

Most polls suggest that Americans oppose amnesty and guest-worker programs and support enforcing the immigration laws. Taking the White House line will not make Hispanics flock to the Republican party, because the Democrats will always outbid the Republicans. Any amnesty that passes Congress will do so with mostly Democratic votes. If illegal immigration is curbed, on the other hand, we can expect Hispanic immigrants to assimilate more easily and to make slightly higher wages. And the more they assimilate and succeed, the more likely they will be to give the Republicans some consideration in the voting booth. That is the path that would be best for the party, and the country.

OBITUARY

Lyn Nofziger, R.I.P.

FRANKLYN "LYN" NOFZIGER was a cut-up. He wore Mickey Mouse ties, made awful puns, sported a goatee, and dressed like a refugee who had been outfitted by a charity that didn't know his size. He dropped out of college because he resented the foreign-language requirement. "If they want to talk to me, they can speak English," he said. In political campaigns Nofziger was a fierce partisan who neither asked nor gave quarter. He distrusted government, even when he was part of it.

Nofziger was also a combat veteran of World War II, a devoted husband and father, a competent journalist, a passable poet and novelist, and a shrewd political analyst. He developed a symbiotic relationship with Ronald Reagan, whom Nofziger appreciated as a leader, a politician, and a human being. No one was indispensable to Reagan, but in Reagan's seminal 1966 campaign for governor of California, Nofziger came close. Reagan knew hardly any reporters outside of

Hollywood, and Nofziger soon became his bridge to a demanding political press corps that was skeptical of Reagan because of his ideology, inexperience, and background. Nofziger taught Reagan to trust reporters, but not too much, and to be accessible to them.

After Reagan became governor, some aides tried to keep him under wraps. Nofziger realized that this demeaning strategy echoed the judgment of Reagan's opponents, who described the new governor as an out-of-touch actor who was less than bright. Nofziger argued that Reagan should give weekly press conferences where, over time, his skills as a performer and the strength of his convictions would win over the press corps and the public. Reagan agreed with Nofziger, and he proved him right.

Among the Sacramentans, Nofziger and his ally Tom Reed were first to recognize that Reagan was destined to be president. Reagan, unwilling to get ahead of himself, cautiously scheduled a few events in 1968, sometimes acting in concert with NATIONAL REVIEW publisher William Rusher. Nofziger distributed plane schedules to the press corps and encouraged reporters to ask him questions about national issues. Reagan's 1968 campaign for the presidency proved abortive, but it launched him on the path to the White House. Nofziger was with Reagan every step of the way. After Reagan narrowly lost the Republican nomination in 1976, Nofziger headed a political action committee that spent the next four years reassuring conservative activists that their champion would be back in 1980.

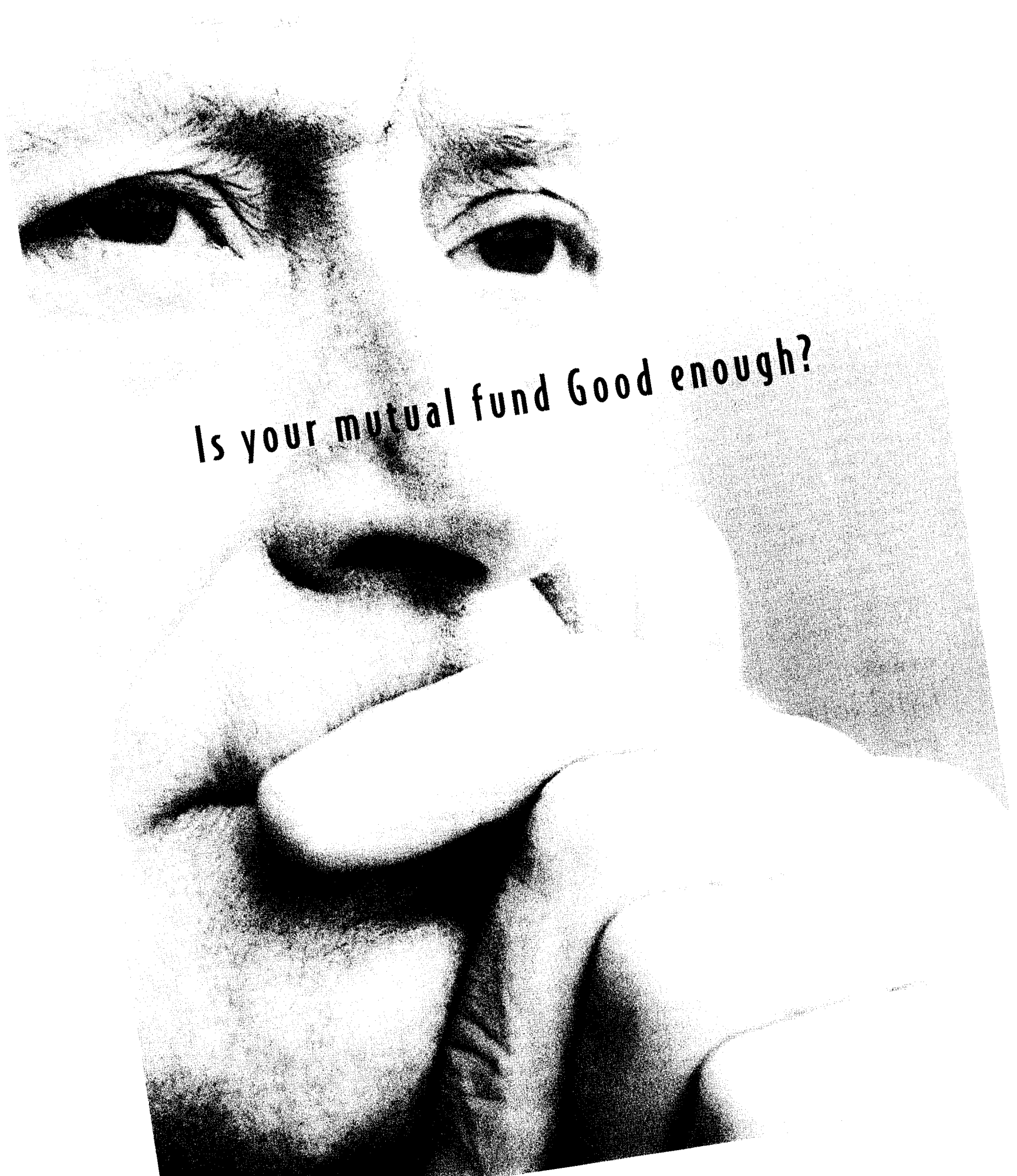
Among insiders Nofziger was sometimes suspect because of his friendships with reporters. Some of the tonier Reagan donors and more uptight advisers didn't appreciate his candor about his own habits. (Lyn said, for instance, that he didn't socialize with the Reagans because they didn't drink enough.) Nancy Reagan, who came to appreciate him, was put off by his unkempt appearance. Nofziger rejoined that it made Ronald Reagan look better when they were standing together.

But Nofziger would have disappeared from the Reagan entourage, I suspect, had not Ronald Reagan liked having him around. One of Reagan's many gifts was that he didn't particularly care for yes-men, and Nofziger valued Reagan too much to agree with him when he was wrong. Nofziger was one of two aides in Sacramento who told Governor Reagan to return a horse that had been given him. Reagan got red in the face and didn't say anything, but he gave back the horse the next day. Many years later, in another context, Reagan told me, "Lyn always tries to do the right thing."

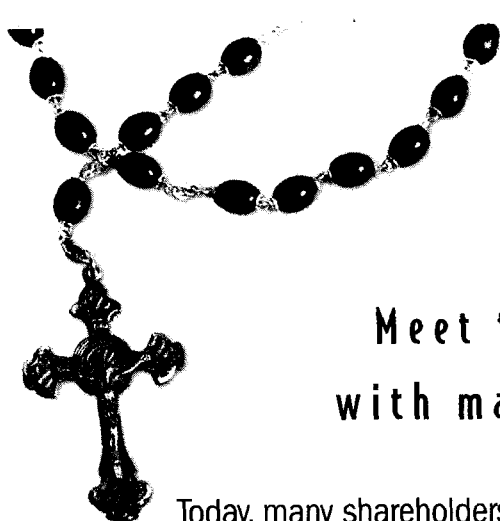
Near the end of his life, as he battled cancer, Lyn became grateful for the prayers and phone calls from old friends and adversaries. He told one of them that he hadn't helped enough people in his life. The caller replied that he had helped Reagan become president, which had rescued our country and changed the world. Lyn seemed to like that. He was a cut-up, all right, but he made a difference.

—LOU CANNON

One of Reagan's many gifts was that he didn't particularly care for yes-men, and Nofziger valued Reagan too much to agree with him when he was wrong.



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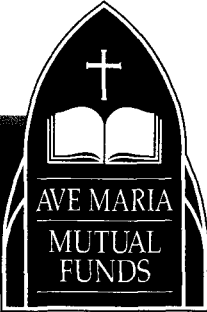


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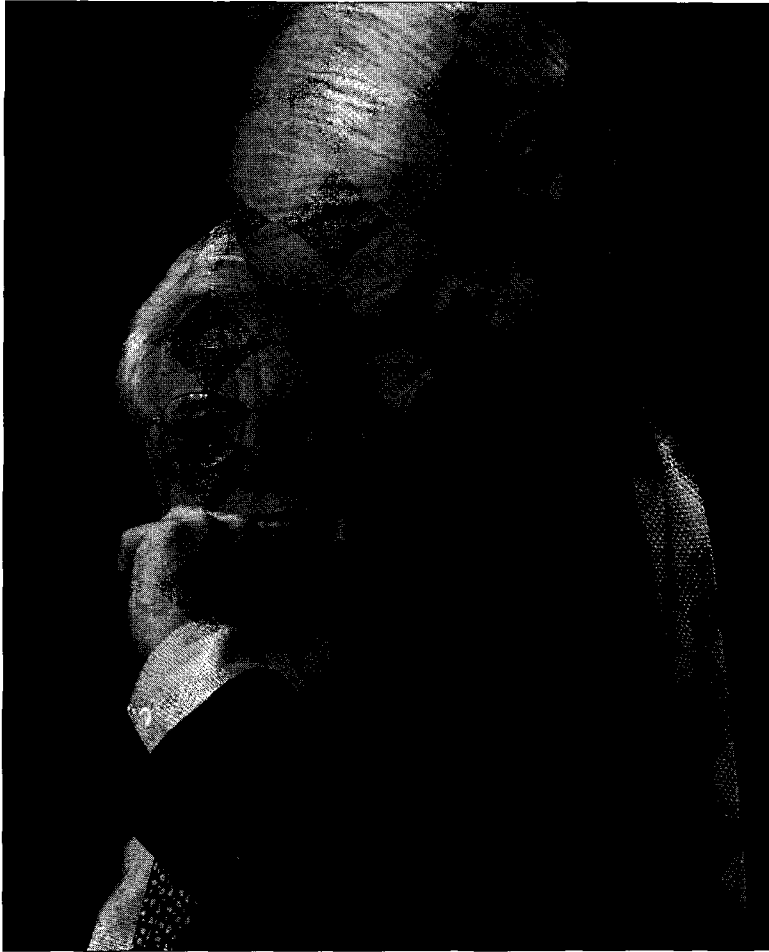
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■ COVER STORY ■

A Two-Step for America

Addressing our immigration problems

KATE O'BEIRNE

THERE is a paralyzing fear of the illegal-immigrant lobby." That's how one Senate GOP aide explains why some Republicans helped get an amnesty and a guest-worker program

Kate O'Beirne, NR's Washington editor, is the author of *Women Who Make the World Worse: and How Their Radical Feminist Assault Is Ruining Our Schools, Families, Military, and Sports*.

through the Judiciary Committee. Militant advocates for illegal immigrants smear those who oppose legalizing 11 million aliens as hostile to Hispanics. Regrettably, Republican strategists seem to echo this charge, warning that strong border enforcement is a betrayal of our immigrant ancestors.

But America is a nation of *legal* immigrants. The way to maintain that tradition is for Congress to reject the amnesty and guest-worker bills in favor of a two-phase

approach. In Phase One, Congress would get serious about enforcing the immigration laws—and only afterward, in Phase Two, increase legal immigration. This approach would be pro-enforcement, pro-immigrant, and in accord with public opinion.

The American public are sticklers for obeying the law. They see a program that permits illegal aliens to live and work in the U.S. while awaiting citizenship as an amnesty for lawbreakers. And they recognize that millions around the world would jump at the chance to be accorded this privilege—if only they met the prerequisite of having violated our laws. Public opinion overwhelmingly favors getting serious about border control and cracking down on illegal immigration. A Pew Research poll found that only 22 percent of Republicans and 37 percent of Democrats favor letting illegal aliens stay permanently. Polls indicate that more people view immigration as a security issue than as an economic one. A majority favors stationing troops at the border with Mexico and building a 2,000-mile security fence. An NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll found that, by a margin of 71 percent to 11 percent, Americans are more likely to vote for a candidate who favors tighter controls on illegal immigration than for one who does not. Beefing up border security is good politics.

Congressional Democrats and Republicans alike understand this. Even senators McCain and Kennedy, the authors of the leading amnesty plan, have bowed to public sentiment by adopting a rhetoric of strengthening the borders. Of course, this is merely a pose, as their plan actually rejects all serious enforcement proposals. It neither increases the number of agents nor builds new barriers at the border. It does not make employers verify the legal status of new hires. It requires little more by way of enforcement than the creation of a national strategy to deal with our porous borders some time in the distant future. Its approach, in other words, is amnesty now, security later.

Supporters of McCain-Kennedy say that we have to adopt a guest-worker program and enact an amnesty because we can't control the border. But they are unwilling to try to control it in the first place.

New enforcement measures aren't

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enough. We also need to fix the federal agencies that are responsible for implementing them. Four years ago, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that immigration fraud owing to the widespread use of phony documents was "pervasive and significant." This poses a security problem: Two-thirds of the 94 foreign terrorists known to have operated in the United States between the early 1990s and 2004 committed immigration fraud. The GAO also concluded in a recent study that the Department of Homeland Security has little prospect of discouraging the use of fraudulent documents because it has no strategy for punishing offenders.

Another report found that although U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services has a statutory mandate to eliminate its backlog of immigration applications by September 2006, at least 1.2 million such cases remain and are unlikely to be eliminated by the September deadline. "Comprehensive" immigration reform would add amnesty applications from 11 million illegal aliens, and visa applications from at least an additional 400,000 guest workers a year, to a bureaucracy unable to cope with its current caseload.

Yet another GAO report reminded us that "strategies to deter illegal immigration require both a reliable employment-eligibility verification process and a worksite enforcement capacity to ensure that employers comply with immigration-

related employment laws." The immigration reform of 1986 promised both of these things. Twenty years later, there is a verification process that employers can use voluntarily (the Basic Pilot Program), but the GAO concluded that it is unable to detect fraud. In 2004, only four employers were prosecuted for employing illegal aliens.

Phase One of immigration reform should set appropriate benchmarks to establish that our borders have been strengthened, the problem of fraudulent documents has been addressed, the backlog of immigration applications has been

eliminated, and an effective system of workplace enforcement is in operation. Our first priority should be dramatically to reduce the number of illegal entrants, currently about 800,000 a year. A reduction would permit easier assimilation of legal immigrants—and consideration could then be given to increasing their numbers.

There is no reason to wait until an enforcement system is in place before debating what future legal-immigration proposals should include. Our current immigration system prioritizes family reunifica-

tion, but many critics want to see priority given instead to skilled immigrants who would meet labor shortages in critical areas. The incentive for illegal immigration could be reduced if, along with effectively enforcing our borders and ruling out amnesty, we gave preference in any future guest-worker program to those who have resided in their countries of origin for two years prior to entering the U.S. Privileged consideration should also be given to immigrants who demonstrate a strong desire to assimilate and become Americans by learning English.

There is little reason to think that illegal aliens will have more respect for the laws Congress passes than Congress has itself. Today's dysfunctional system is a creature of Congresses that habitually pass immigration laws they have no intention of enforcing. By undertaking reforms in the two phases outlined here, the current Congress could win the public trust necessary for fundamental—and positive—change.

■ POLITICS

Glamour-Girl Gov, Gone?

An interesting election in Michigan

JOHN J. MILLER

ON John Kerry's final campaign swing through Michigan in 2004, supporters gathered in Detroit for a last-minute rally. Stevie Wonder sang a few songs and Democratic politicians gave a few speeches. "If you are somebody who has lost a job, you need to vote for a change," said Gov. Jennifer Granholm. Many Michiganders took the governor's advice—Kerry won the state 51 percent to 48 percent—but Granholm may have a hard time living down her words: They are now displayed prominently on the state GOP's website, and it's a sure bet they'll stay there until November, when Granholm faces an electorate that continues to reel from job losses and very well may issue the governor her own personal pink slip.

Many Republicans around the country are anticipating an election year that's about as successful as a typical Detroit Lions football season. Democrats are poised to do especially well in gubernatorial contests: Of the nine races that don't feature an incumbent, eight of them involve choosing a successor to a Republican, and most will be competitive. Yet Michigan may wind up brightening an otherwise dismal year for the GOP. Although November is far off, two new polls show Granholm running neck-and-neck with Republican challenger Dick DeVos, a deep-pocketed businessman who is well-liked by conservatives. The race could become one of the biggest upsets of 2006.

It was supposed to be easier than this for Granholm, a 47-year-old golden girl who was recently the toast of her party. She's a smashing combination of Charlize Theron looks and Ivy League brains: Granholm is a former beauty

There is little reason to think that illegal aliens will have more respect for the laws Congress passes than Congress has itself.

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55	\$107	\$260	\$514
60	\$158	\$388	\$771
65	\$257	\$637	\$1,269
70	\$419	\$1,041	\$2,078

Monthly Rates for Males			
Age	\$1,000,000	\$2,500,000	\$5,000,000
35	\$21	\$44	\$84
40	\$30	\$68	\$131
45	\$47	\$110	\$214
50	\$75	\$179	\$353
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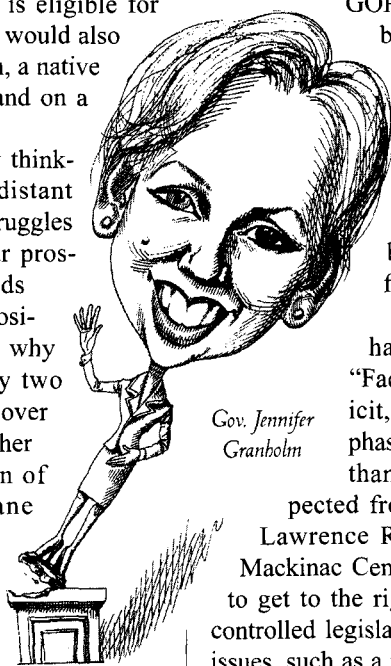
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queen who once appeared on *The Dating Game* and thought of becoming an actress before attending college at Berkeley and law school at Harvard. She married a man from Michigan, worked as a prosecutor in Detroit, and launched a winning campaign for attorney general in 1998. Four years later, she ran to succeed term-limited Republican governor John Engler, bested seasoned politicians in the Democratic primary, and drew national media attention. The *Baltimore Sun* labeled her “the ‘it’ candidate of 2002,” and *Newsweek*’s Eleanor Clift bubbled about how she was “positioned for stardom.” Granholm’s victory was closer than expected—a controversy over her pandering endorsement of slave reparations took a bite toward the end—but she won nonetheless. Democrats were so delighted that they had her deliver a response to President Bush’s weekly radio address before she was even inaugurated as governor.

Granholm was suddenly a political celebrity. She won a prominent role at the Democratic convention in 2004, and she seeped into popular consciousness in ways other politicians can only dream about. “She’s a ringer for Marilyn Monroe,” gushed *Elle*, the fashion magazine. “Some men’s jaws literally drop at the sight of her.” Some Democrats joked that they should cooperate with Republicans who want to amend the Constitution so that the foreign-born Arnold Schwarzenegger is eligible for the presidency because it would also clear a path for Granholm, a native of Vancouver, B.C., to land on a national ticket.

All that pie-in-the-sky thinking now seems like a distant memory as Granholm struggles with her less-than-stellar prospects. The governor finds herself in the difficult position of trying to explain why Michigan is one of only two states to have bled jobs over the last two years (the other is Louisiana, which can of course blame Hurricane Katrina). According to one calculation, Michigan has lost one job every 20 minutes since she was sworn in.



Gov. Jennifer Granholm

Only three states currently have a higher unemployment rate. The Michigan housing market is in the doldrums. Prevailing-wage laws make it expensive to build roads and schools. The Mackinac Center for Public Policy, a Michigan-based free-market think tank, has described Michigan as “the France of North America.”

To no one’s surprise, the public-opinion surveys that show Granholm’s popularity in the pits also reveal a fundamentally disgruntled electorate: Three out of four people say the state is on the wrong track. “That’s the worst I’ve seen in 25 years of polling,” says Bill Ballenger, who publishes *Inside Michigan Politics*. “There’s this image of everybody else pulling ahead while we’re stuck in the muck.”

That image is no shock, given that the auto industry currently looks more like a broken-down jalopy on a used-car lot than a shiny new Cadillac fresh off the assembly line. Every day seems to bring more unwelcome news. Delphi, the auto-parts giant, declared bankruptcy last fall. GM and Ford act as if they’re in a contest to see who can board up more factories; GM alone expects to close or scale back a dozen manufacturing plants and shed some 30,000 jobs by 2008. If what’s good for GM is good for America, then what’s bad for GM is awful for Michigan—and potentially devastating for Granholm. Rusty Hills, former chairman of the state

GOP, thinks DeVos can win by asking the old Reagan question about whether you’re better off than you were four years ago. “The answer is no,” Hills says, “unless you’re a bankruptcy lawyer or a foreclosure agent.”

Granholm did in fact have a promising start. “Faced with a budget deficit, she placed more emphasis on spending restraint than you might have expected from a Democrat,” says Lawrence Reed, president of the Mackinac Center. She even managed to get to the right of the Republican-controlled legislature on some spending issues, such as a proposal to buy laptops

for all sixth-grade public-school students. And the governor has shown genuine signs of social moderation: Although she’s no pro-lifer, she recently signed a bill requiring abortionists to let women see ultrasounds of their unborn children upon request.

Yet Granholm has failed to provide the visionary leadership that many Michiganders believe their state desperately needs. Her speeches often seem drawn from the playbook of post-1994 Clintonism, with their appeals for home-heating subsidies, “tough and effective anti-bullying policies,” and other small-bore proposals. In calling for “a national cap on exorbitant oil-company profits,” she has sunk to demagoguery. Sometimes jaws have dropped not because of how she looks but because of what she has said: Last year, when a state legislator and a college professor coauthored a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed column criticizing the governor’s budget priorities, Granholm called their behavior “treasonous for the state of Michigan.”

Instead of trying to improve a business climate that is saddled with union rules and a burdensome tax structure, Granholm has focused on cutting deals with individual companies on a selective basis. “I will go anywhere and do anything to bring jobs to this state,” she has said. Germany and Japan have recently been on her itinerary. These efforts occasionally generate positive headlines, but they point to an underlying dilemma: Companies are often reluctant to relocate or expand in Michigan unless they receive tax relief, road construction, or some other special treatment. Rather than trying to cure a disease, Granholm attempts only to treat its symptoms.

She would be better off addressing the state’s overall business environment. A new study by the Tax Foundation, a tax-policy think tank, says that Michigan has the country’s second-worst system of corporate taxation. Unlike the federal government and virtually every other state, Michigan taxes companies not only for their profits, but for the wages and benefits they pay their employees. “There’s no other tax like it in the industrialized world,” says Chris Atkins of the Foundation. “Businesses can get big tax bills even when they’re losing money, which makes it really hard for Michigan

ROMAN GENN

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—David Henderson

Growing Old the Hard Way: China, India, Russia

More older people and fewer resources

Over the next generation, it seems entirely likely—indeed, all but inevitable—that a large fraction of humanity, peopling countries within the grouping often termed emerging market economies, will find itself coping with the phenomenon of a population aging on income levels far lower than those yet witnessed in any society with comparable degrees of graying. For such countries, the social and economic consequences of aging could be harsh—and the options for mitigating the adverse effects of population aging may be fairly limited. In some of these countries, population aging could potentially emerge as a factor appreciably constraining long-term growth and development.

—Nicholas Eberstadt

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to attract new jobs and investment.”

There have been efforts to phase out this so-called Single Business Tax, which is set to expire in 2010. In March the state legislature passed a bill advancing the deadline to next year, but Granholm vetoed it. There is now some talk of using the initiative process to put the matter directly to voters. Whatever happens, it appears that DeVos will be able to talk up taxes and the impossibility of being anti-business and pro-jobs at the same time.

So far, the DeVos campaign has avoided making specific policy proposals. Instead, it has underwritten a series of commercials that tout DeVos as a private-sector job creator. Operatives won't say how much these ads have cost, but the price tag probably comes to at least \$2 million. They are the primary reason DeVos is in a dead heat with Granholm at such an early stage. “I don't think I've ever seen a better introduction to a candidate on television than the one in these ads,” says Gov. Mitt Romney of Massachusetts, a Michigan native who is also head of the Republican Governors Association. One thing is certain: DeVos, whose father made a fortune as a co-founder of Amway, won't lack cash. “He has promised to raise \$10 million, which is more than any previous Republican candidate,” says Saul Anuzis, the state party chairman. “What's more, people are expecting him to put in a similar amount of his own money.”

Despite all this, Granholm's defeat is no sure thing: She's the incumbent, which gives her an advantage; DeVos is a rookie candidate, which puts him at a disadvantage; and Michigan has become more Democratic in recent years. Granholm also can be counted on to run a fiercely negative campaign, as her surest path to reelection will be a race that shifts attention away from her performance in office and onto the credentials of her opponent. Yet DeVos looks ready to contend in a way that would have seemed improbable a year ago, when more autoworkers had jobs and glamour-magazine reporters were booking flights to Lansing. If DeVos merely avoids mistakes and Michigan's economy continues to sputter along like a dilapidated Edsel, then Jennifer Granholm may become just another Michigander in the unemployment line. **NR**

■ EUROPE

The Fear in France

What rioting and the rest of it means

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

FRANCE is closed down for the moment. General strike, no transport, universities and schools suspended. It's 1968 all over again, with President Jacques Chirac in much the same terminal plight as General de Gaulle was then. Dominique de Villepin and Nicolas Sarkozy, prime minister and minister of the interior respectively, can't quite make up their minds whether to tough it out or retreat as usual in such circum-

retire at 50 on practically full pay. Stone-throwing and tear gas means that once again wish-fulfillment has priority over economic reality.

This time, it's the young who believe that their vested interests are threatened. Welfare costs and regulations make hiring so expensive for employers that, for the past decade, an average of one in ten of the total workforce has been unemployed. Unemployment among the young is chronic, running at 23 percent. Villepin hopes that a First Job Contract, or CPE according to its French initials, will alleviate this blight. Tentative, not to say timid, CPE would allow employers to take on anyone under the age of 26 without any commitment to security for a period of two years. To those at the barricades, this approach to hiring and firing is outright surrender to American capitalism and therefore brutality, and they insist on privileged security—or as one critic sneered, they all want to be civil servants. The Chirac-Villepin combination, however,



stances. Both hope to succeed Chirac next year, and are scraping up political capital. “Deaf to us all” and “The shipwreck of the Chirac state” are headlines gleefully splashed across the opposition press.

But this is how the French do things, isn't it? People of the same occupation defend their vested interests with whatever violence they can muster. Haulers use their trucks to block roads and customs posts; farmers burn British lorries and the live animals in them; railway personnel close the system down to protect their right to

has railroaded the law through the National Assembly, and refused to take an opt-out when the legality of proceedings was referred to a special constitutional court. Slight as the issue may seem, much more than conditions of youth employment is at stake.

Tocqueville long ago made the profound observation that nothing so much resembled pre-1789 monarchical France as the post-revolutionary republic that succeeded it. From Napoleon Bonaparte to Marshal Pétain and General de Gaulle, rulers may not have been monarchs in name, but their power owed more to their personalities and prestige than to democratic institutions. The present constitution gives the president powers in domestic and foreign

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor. His new book, *Betrayal: France, the Arabs, and the Jews*, will be published by Encounter in the fall.

STUDENT PROTESTERS IN PARIS, 3/28/06 JACKY NAEGLÉN/REUTERS

policy to match those of Louis XIV and his courtiers at Versailles.

Since the 1960s, Chirac has embodied a nationalized monarch. Appointed prime minister in 1974 and again in 1986 by successive presidents, he was simultaneously mayor of Paris, before becoming president himself in 1995. No doubt he sincerely believes that France is the greatest of countries, a beacon to the rest of the world, able to boast of many post-war achievements such as an excellent transport system, a fine health service, and nuclear-powered energy. The vision is not ignoble, but it has been preserved only by locking in place the classical French model of society, centralized, statist, dirigiste, protectionist. Undoubtedly, its greatest success has been to oblige the whole continent to adopt this closed social model in the form of the European Union. In an illuminating incident, Chirac recently walked out of a meeting in Brussels, declaring himself "profoundly shocked" because a prominent French industrialist was speaking English in public.

Villepin would have been wholly recognizable at the Versailles court. A diplomat, a poet and essayist, delighting to pass in manner and tailoring as an aristocrat and dandy, he has never been elected to anything, but owes his position entirely to Chirac's whim, or as he once put it, "I direct the president's brain." Grandiloquent pronouncements come naturally to him, in this style: "Abroad France rests on a pillar of thought and culture, a major economic, military, and political power."

The facts are otherwise. The French social model has proved incapable of delivering the rewards of the free market. More disappointing still, the European Union turns out to be a gigantic mechanism for impoverishment and decline. Globalization is simply too strong for protectionist structures of this type. Growth in France has been barely more than 1 percent a year for some time, and so feeble a performance cannot sustain the welfare state. *Précarité*, precariousness, is the fear mobilizing the students. Virtually half the young people asked in a poll what globalization means to them gave the answer "Fear."

On the day when the French revolution broke out and the Bastille fell, Louis XVI, so soon to be guillotined, famously noted in his diary, "Nothing." The Chirac-

Villepin combination reacted with similar blind indifference to events at the end of last October. Clichy-sous-Bois is nine miles northeast of Paris, a grim suburb in Stalinist concrete. After a confused encounter there with the police, a group of teenagers ran away. Two of them, one from Tunisia and the other from Mauritania, jumped over a fence into an electricity substation and were electrocuted. Violence flared up immediately, leapfrogging to some 300 cities and towns across the country. Night after night, rioters shouting "Allah akhbar" set fire to cars, hurled petrol bombs, and battled with the police and firemen. Caught by surprise, the authorities eventually imposed curfews and declared a state of emergency. At the end of this season of destruction, about 10,000 cars had been burned and 230 public buildings either damaged or burned out. Four hundred of the 5,000 arrested were sentenced to prison.

In today's politically correct climate, the rioters were categorized as immigrants, North Africans, nihilists, vandals, anything but Muslims and Arabs. Nobody

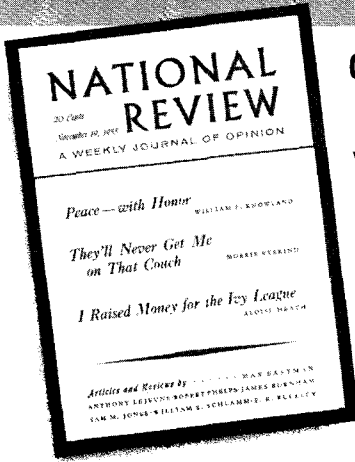
knows for sure, but there are somewhere between 5 and 7 million Muslims in France, or around one in ten of the population. The flotsam of globalization, they are also victims of a welfare system that promised far more than it can deliver, and so vanishes into mirage.

The authorities fight jihadist terrorism with conviction, but seem impotent in the face of a level of disaffection among Arab and Muslim immigrants approaching permanent lawlessness. Attacks on Jews are now running at about the rate of one a day, and some of these are cause for real fear. In one of the Stalinist-style suburbs, Adel Boumedienne, of Moroccan origins, caught and beheaded his neighbor, a Jewish disc jockey, and gloated to his own mother, "I killed my Jew, I will go to paradise." Elsewhere a Muslim gang kidnapped Ilan Halimi, a Jewish salesman of cellphones. They called his family to read the Koran to them in such a way that he could be heard in the background screaming under torture. After three weeks of this, they set fire to him, and he died. Yet the Paris public prosecutor said that this

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murder could in no way be linked to “an anti-Semitic declaration or action.”

Amid the melancholy generated by the evident failure of the French social model, a science known as “declinology” has developed. One of its most forceful exponents is Nicolas Baverez, who points out unanswerably that the current political void is creating a space for violence. For him, the enormity of the recent Arab and Muslim rioting illustrates nothing less than “national crisis and the decomposition of the social body.” Commentators of the stature of Alain Duhamel, Alain Minc, and André Glucksmann are hardly less pessimistic. An articulate conservative parliamentarian, Pierre Lellouche, warns of “a future that is escaping us.”

Nothing is to be expected from the Chirac-Villepin combination in its dying days. Both are vain and pretentious, essentially weak men pretending to be strong. Chirac recently had what doctors euphemistically describe as a vascular accident; and the moment he leaves office he will no longer be able to benefit from a judicial exemption he obtained as president in 1999, and therefore he will face corruption charges. In the last decade, no fewer than 700 French politicians have faced corruption charges, but a law forbids naming them.

For a long time, Sarkozy was the favorite at Chirac’s court. But he’s in a hurry, he made his ambition far too obvious, and Chirac switched to back Villepin as his dynastic heir. Sarkozy is the son of a Hungarian who made his way to France in the 1940s. In person, he is diminutive, and comes across as combative. Responsible as minister of the interior for law and order, he called the Arab and Muslim insurgents “scum.” Some praised him for it, others thought him merely provocative. In a long-running farce, moreover, his wife leaves him at intervals for another man in New York, and Sarkozy used or abused his powers to stop a journalistic account of this affair—the journalist turned it into a roman à clef.

The Socialists are in even greater disarray than the Conservatives. On the whole political spectrum there seems to be nobody with the will or the ability to modernize this nationalized monarchy that really is the source of so much violence. There has to be reform, or it may be 1789 all over again. **NR**

■ CHINA

Prisoner of The PRC

The experience of a Falun Gong practitioner

JAY NORDLINGER

CHARLES LEE has a story to tell, and I have come to hear it, in a New York conference room. Dr. Lee has recently been released from a Chinese prison, after three years’ confinement. He is an American—a U.S. citizen since 2002—and he talks like one: His conversation is peppered with “like,” as in, “If you tried to move, they would, like, hit you.” Dr. Lee is a remarkably composed and assured man. But he has been through a ghastly ordeal, which is no surprise, given the People’s Republic and its ways.

Dr. Lee was born in 1965, in the eastern province of Jiangsu. His parents worked in a cotton mill. He himself went to medical school in Guangzhou (Canton). In 1991, he came to the United States, for further study and research at the University of Illinois and Harvard. In 1997, he became a practitioner of Falun Gong, a system involving meditation and exercises.

When Falun Gong first became popular in the 1990s, the Chinese government supported it, as a means of promoting both health and traditional Chinese culture. But when they discovered just how popular it was—100 million were practicing Falun Gong, they found—they banned it. That was in 1999. Since then, they have been waging a merciless campaign against practitioners of Falun Gong, seizing, torturing, and killing them. Indeed, these people might be said to be bearing the brunt of PRC brutality at the moment.

Dr. Lee decided to return to China to try to assist his fellow Falun Gong practitioners. He was especially concerned with countering the government’s propaganda against the movement; this prop-

aganda is pervasive and constant. He first went in 2002, for three weeks. He was arrested, but managed to get out. He went again in January 2003, and this time he was not so lucky.

His intention was to execute a brazen plan: to tap into government television—the only kind of television there is in China—and broadcast a 45-minute tape about Falun Gong, detailing the government’s persecution of practitioners.

On landing at the Guangzhou airport, he was arrested. Right away, he started a hunger strike, as political prisoners have long done. The police kept Dr. Lee awake for 92 consecutive hours, badgering him, denouncing Falun Gong. On March 21, 2003, he had his trial—which he describes as a “show trial,” in which he was not permitted to defend himself. Like other such figures, he insists on his legal justification: The Chinese government has violated its own constitution, and so on. After this trial, he was sent to prison in Nanjing.

There, the ordeal began in earnest, but I will be light on the details—light on them without avoiding them.

He spent 130 straight hours handcuffed—painfully handcuffed—while trying to write a letter to an appeals court. He was subjected to constant anti-Falun Gong propaganda, which attacked his most deeply held beliefs. He endured “reeducation sessions,” or “condemnation sessions.” He was not allowed to perform his Falun Gong exercises, of course, and he was constantly surrounded by other prisoners, who served as enforcers.

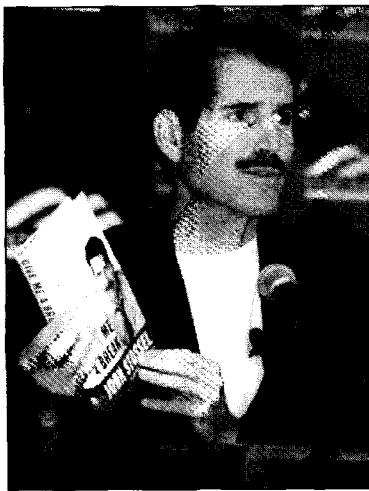
As a foreigner, he says, he was supposed to be kept with other foreign prisoners. But he was kept with Chinese ones, most of them drug traffickers and the like. Some of them befriended him; but then they were replaced by “more vicious ones.”

During his three-year confinement, he went on hunger strike nine times, for a total of 50 days. Prison authorities forced him four times. Once, they left the tube in his stomach for 33 hours, for the sole purpose of torturing him. “It was agonizing,” Dr. Lee says. One is sure he is understating it.

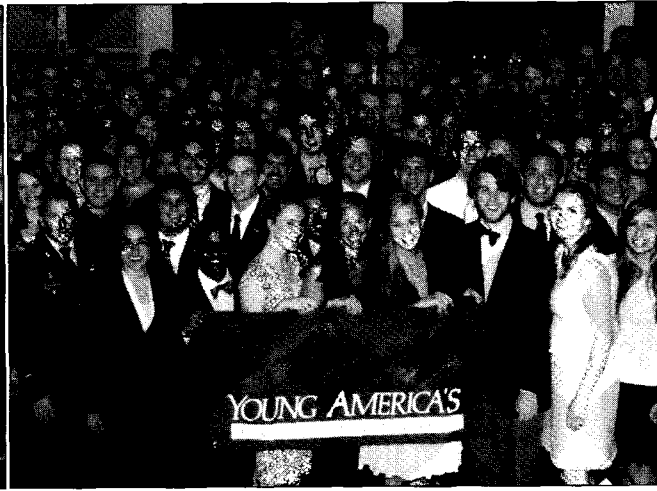
He tells of another forced feeding: “The scene was so violent, the cameraman fainted, right on the spot.” Excuse

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me, the cameraman? “Yeah, the guy who was filming it. He was just a kid, green from the police academy.” They were filming it? “Oh, yes: They filmed everything. They do this so as to piece bits of video together later, for their own purposes.”

In late 2004, they forced him to sit on a bench, staring straight ahead, into a wall, all day long. He was allowed to sleep at night, but otherwise he could not move, and had to keep staring straight ahead. They made him do this for 48 straight days. “Your body starts to rot,” Dr. Lee notes. Eventually his heart began to fail, and he had trouble breathing. They then took him to a doctor.

At other times during the three years, he was made to work in prison sweatshops. He assembled Christmas lights. “The room was small, and it was crowded with about 60 people. The temperature was over 42 degrees centigrade” (108 degrees Fahrenheit). He also made bedroom slippers with Homer Simpson’s image on them. (Homer is the father on the TV cartoon *The Simpsons*.) You put your foot where Homer’s mouth is.

I ask, by the way, what he thinks of people in the Free West who buy those slippers. He says, “Oh, they just want the cheapest product. But I feel that, if they knew about my situation, it would bother them.”

I ask another question: What was the worst part of those three years? “My mother,” he says. Dr. Lee’s mother was very sick, and the authorities used her against him. This is standard practice for the PRC, especially where Falun Gong prisoners are concerned: They pressure family members to urge their loved ones to repudiate Falun Gong.

When Dr. Lee’s mother was dying, his brother called the prison, asking the authorities to let Charles see her, once more. They waited a day. Then they took him to his mother’s home. She had died an hour before. Dr. Lee feels certain they knew exactly what they were doing. (His family’s home was watched all the time, as all such homes are.)

Did Charles think that he himself would die? “Yes. There was constant pressure. Constant pressure.” He says that his experience was like that of Prometheus, who had his liver eaten out, every day. “They said to me, ‘We will make living worse for you than dying.’ They were very good at mental torture,” as well as physical. “Some people mention the concept of ‘the genocide of souls’—they kill your soul. They let you become a nobody.”

You may ask where the U.S. government was in all this—Dr. Lee was, and is, after all, a U.S. citizen. He says he had

monthly visits from a consular official. The official, much of the time, would report back to Dr. Lee’s fiancée, Yeong-Ching Foo, who was in the United States. Throughout the three years, she worked tirelessly in Dr. Lee’s behalf, in the tradition of Avital Sharansky, and others. Miss Foo is with us, by the way, in this New York conference room.

Dr. Lee is grateful for the consulate’s support, and so is Miss Foo. But her gratitude is tempered by aspects of the State Department’s dealings with her. She says that they warned her not to make too much of a fuss over Dr. Lee’s imprisonment, lest his situation become worse. And to this day, they both say, the U.S. government has never said a word—a public word—about what happened to him.

Dr. Lee notes that the PRC’s leader, Hu Jintao, will visit President Bush in Washington on April 20. He says it would be nice if our president “raised the issue of Falun Gong.”

As his prison term neared its end, Dr. Lee’s treatment got better, as often happens with such prisoners: Regimes want them relatively fit and sane, when the world sees them. And Dr. Lee considers himself extremely lucky: He would have had it far worse if he had not been a U.S. citizen. Other Falun Gong prisoners have been hung from ceilings, their bodies brutalized by electric truncheons. And then there’s the fingernail torture.

Charles and Yeong-Ching will be married soon. It has not been easy, reestablishing their relationship. He has been through a lot; so has she. And what will he do with the rest of his life? “That’s a good question. I’m not sure.” But whatever he does, he says, it will involve helping his fellow Falun Gong practitioners. “They are suffering so much, and they have such lies told about them constantly.”

Would he consider going back to China, to face the state again? “Yes, I will go back, if I have the chance.” But why? Given the past three years, why on earth? “If we Falun Gong practitioners don’t help other Falun Gong practitioners, who will? We have to be the first ones who stand up.”

He says it with a conviction that brooks no further questioning. **NR**



Charles Lee

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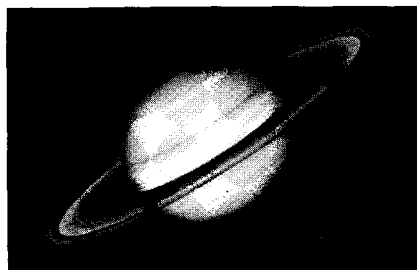
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■ APPRECIATION

Reagan's Cap, And Ours

The late, great
Caspar W. Weinberger

PETER SCHWEIZER

ONE of Cap Weinberger's favorite stories about Ronald Reagan concerned the American conflict with Libya over the Gulf of Sidra in August 1981. Weinberger and the military brass were sitting down with the president as the U.S. Navy moved toward the region. There were fears of combat in the skies. Weinberger asked the president what the orders would be if the Libyans fired on U.S. aircraft and returned to Tripoli. "What about hot pursuit? How far can we go?"

"All the way to the hangar," Reagan responded.

Weinberger loved the story because of what it told about Ronald Reagan. But it tells us a lot about Cap Weinberger, too. On the wall behind his desk at the Pentagon rested a framed quotation from Churchill: "Never give in—never, never, never, never . . ." Like Churchill, Weinberger was a tenacious man, completely committed to his principles.

Caspar W. Weinberger grew up in San Francisco, attended Harvard College and Harvard Law School, fought with MacArthur in the Pacific, and served in the California legislature. He was tapped for posts in the cabinets of Presidents Nixon and Ford, where he picked up the nickname "Cap the Knife" for his efforts to cut government waste. When he was confirmed as Ronald Reagan's secretary of defense in 1981, he was already well known in Washington.

Because he was a kind gentleman, the Soviets at first applauded the appointment. "I regarded Weinberger as a balanced man,

Mr. Schweizer, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, coauthored two books with Caspar Weinberger: *The Next War* and *Chain of Command*.

judging by his past record," Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin recalled in his memoirs. "But it was not long before we all were strongly disillusioned."

Weinberger directed and oversaw the largest peacetime military buildup in American history. It's easy to look back now and assume that the rearming of America in the 1980s was inevitable, but there were enormous pressures on both Reagan and Weinberger to cut the defense budget. That's what a majority in Reagan's cabinet advocated, and Richard Nixon wrote Reagan a memo declaring that "the Pentagon should not be a sacred cow." There was dissension within broader Republican ranks as well. A *Los Angeles Times* poll of delegates to the 1984 Republican convention found that 62 percent supported a nuclear-weapons freeze.



But Weinberger, with his disarming smile and gentle demeanor, never gave in. Dobrynin complained that Weinberger "never seemed to tire of leading the Pentagon charge" and "supported all of Reagan's statements on foreign policy without reservation, except that he tended to make them sound even tougher." At the Pentagon, one former admiral called him "one of the few genuine anti-Communist Cold Warriors in Washington," a description that no doubt pleased Cap. To our European allies, Weinberger said, "If the movement from the Cold War to détente is progress, then let me say we cannot afford much more progress."

Weinberger always believed that the buildup was about more than creating weapons; he wanted to beat the Soviets and bring the Cold War to an end. One of the

first things he did as SecDef was to oversee the rewriting of a top-secret five-year defense guidance directive. American foreign and military policy had been focused on containment, but Weinberger and his Pentagon lieutenants, including Fred Iklé and Richard Perle, wanted that to change. The directive Weinberger approved called for the U.S. "to reverse the geographic expansion" of the Soviet Union and "encourage long-term political and military changes within the Soviet empire." It declared that there were "political and economic weaknesses" emerging in the Soviet empire, and that the goal was to "take advantage of the enemy's weaknesses." This was a radical view back in 1981.

The buildup was designed to hit the Soviets hardest where they were weakest—the economy. When Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko visited Reagan in 1984, he was extremely upset about what Weinberger was doing at the Pentagon. "Behind all this lies the clear calculation that the USSR will exhaust its material resources before the USA and therefore be forced to surrender," he told him. There is now little question that the Weinberger-led strategy put enormous economic pressure on the Kremlin, which compelled Moscow to seek both domestic reforms and peace with the West. At the height of the buildup, the Soviet Union was spending between one-third and one-half of its gross national product on the military.

In 1987, after six historic years at the Pentagon, Weinberger resigned. He did so in part because he opposed the INF Treaty that Reagan would sign. But there were also personal reasons. His lovely wife Jane, a nurse he had met during World War II, was grappling with cancer. He joined *Forbes* magazine as publisher (he would soon become chairman as well) and probably expected to live out the rest of his life in relative peace. But all that changed thanks to Lawrence Walsh, the overzealous Iran-Contra prosecutor who would turn 1992 into what Cap would call "my nightmare year."

Walsh, who had been investigating for more than five years, had precious little to show for his efforts. Desperate to implicate Reagan and his advisers in any illegality, he had been trying to get Weinberger to share some deep, dark secret in exchange for being left alone. Cap refused, insisting that he and the president had done nothing

DARREN GYGI

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wrong, and that he possessed no such secrets. Walsh eventually indicted him. That he did so was ironic: The SecDef had strongly opposed any dealings with “moderates” in Iran (as had secretary of state George Shultz), and he learned what was happening only when some oddly worded cable traffic came to him from the NSA in 1986. The main charge against Weinberger was eventually dismissed—but, in a transparently political move, Walsh filed a new indictment three days before the 1992 presidential election. On Christmas Eve of that year, Weinberger received a pardon from George H. W. Bush.

He was left with a legal bill of more than \$2 million. But he never seemed bitter about the experience, and carried it as a badge of his service. His only lingering act related to Iran-Contra was faithfully to write the first President Bush every Christmas to thank him for ending the ordeal.

Caspar Weinberger represented the best of American statesmanship and played a substantial role in ending the Cold War. And he did it by staying committed to his principles—all the way to the hangar. NR

■ CULTURE WATCH

The Great Uninsured

A meditation on the covereds and the uncovereds, and other things

FLORENCE KING

AMERICA has a new persecuted minority. The Great Unwashed have been replaced by the Great Uninsured.

The word “uninsured” has taken on the freighted tonality of “unemployed,” “deadbeat,” “indigent,” and even “homeless.” The next time you hear someone confess to having no health coverage,

Florence King's NATIONAL REVIEW columns are collected in *STET, Damn it!: The Misanthrope's Corner, 1991 to 2002*.

check out the ever-so-slight pause in his listener's voice. Watch for the slow blink, the quick wiping clean of alarmed features back to bland American acceptance. We're good at this; nobody can do the pause-blink-wipe number like an American.

There are as yet no generally known anti-uninsured slurs, but if I know anything about the Greatest Country on the Face of the Earth they are bound to emerge. Maybe we will call them “sick-niks”; maybe we will call them “toddlies” for the hot lemonade and whiskey they take for double pneumonia; or maybe “branders” after those characters in westerns who cauterize their own wounds.

The slur that comes closest to describing how Americans view the uninsured is “poor white trash,” but we have been so worked over by the goons of political correctness that we are now in the grip of a terrified need to make everything we say sound inclusive, even slurs. “Poor white trash” would have to be tarted up to “poor white trash of all races and classes” before anyone would touch it, so if you want to take out inclusion coverage before you run down the Great Uninsured, it's best to stick with Marie Antoinette's “them.”

The uninsured always were “them.” What we are dealing with here are reincarnated attitudes that go further back than most people now alive can remember. But I do remember them, and that's what got me started on the subject of insurance.

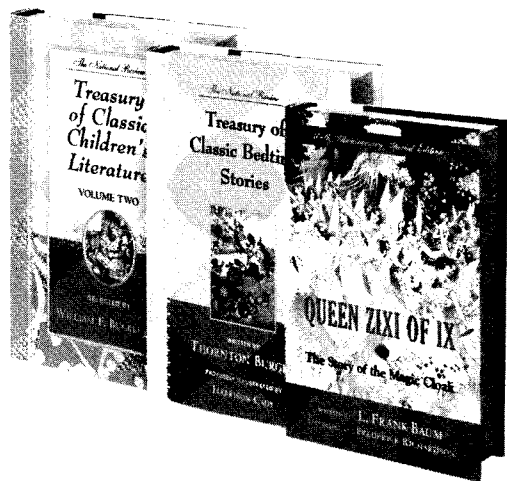
Rest assured that I am not going to write about insurance per se. That requires a natural ear for droning that I lack; a numbers cruncher's visceral need to drizzle “%” signs all over the page; and, of course, the technical knowledge to criticize HillaryCare and BushCare. I can't do that. As Samuel Johnson said of the plot of *Cymbeline*, “It is impossible to criticize unresisting imbecility.”

I leave “deductibles” and “co-payments” and all the rest of it to the panicky-eyed patients milling around the doctor's checkout desk while his shattered nurse waits on hold to find out who pays for the first three hemorrhoids. What interests me is the place of insurance in the American psyche and how it has affected our health-care crisis.

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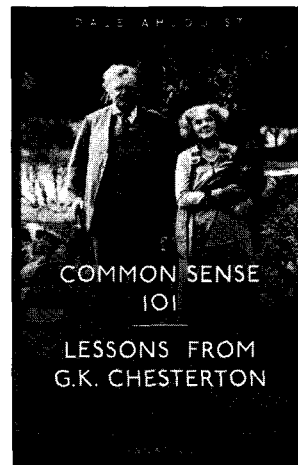
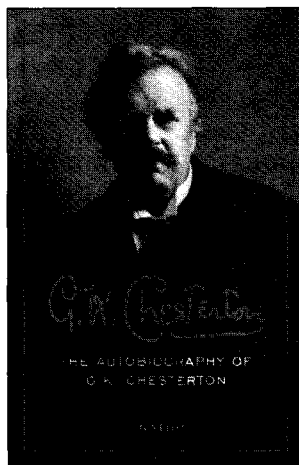
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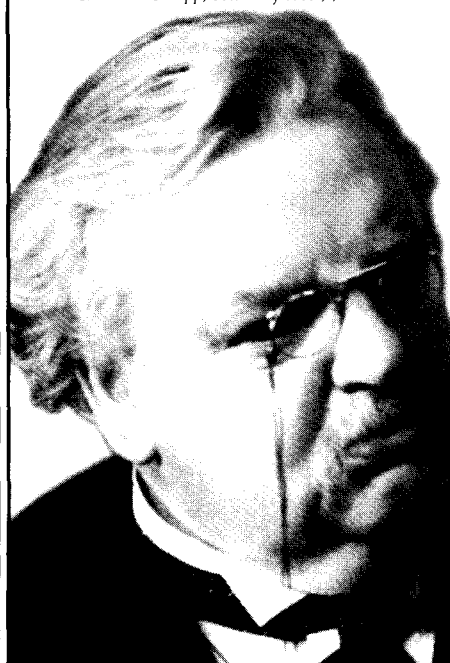
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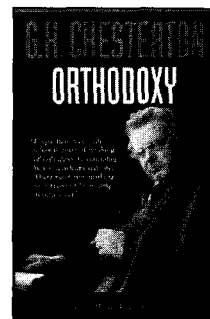
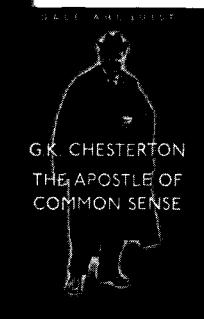
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average man had nothing else to insure—and on them rested his sense of self-worth and his reputation among his peers. Having insurance divided the responsible from the shiftless, the dependable from the flighty. It established a young man as “good husband material,” while an older man who had a paid-up policy was the prototype of steadiness. Their widows and orphans would never end up in what was then called the poorhouse.

Insurance also answered the powerful emotional need for a “decent burial.” This comes out in *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. For years Katie Nolan has paid a dime a week for her own policy and a nickel each for her two children’s. No matter how hard up the Nolans were, she always made sure she had “the insurance money” when the agent came round, keeping it in a tin-can bank hidden in the farthest corner of the closet, nailed to the floor.

But the day comes when Katie is destitute. She tells the agent she can’t pay the premiums; she will have to let the policies lapse. Instead he advises her to cash in the children’s policies so that she can keep up her own, and have a decent burial for their sakes.

She understands. “I wouldn’t want to be buried as a pauper in Potter’s Field. That’s something they could never rise above; neither they, nor their children, nor their children’s children.”

It is not necessary to have known people like this in order to be influenced by them. If you were raised by somebody who was raised by somebody who remembered them, you remember them too. This is why stock characters in movies are perennial favorites. The doctor who made house calls, the lawyer who worshiped justice, and the reliable husbands and decent burials of that old-time insurance live on in our collective national memory long after they have left the stage.

When medical insurance got going after World War Two, it was called “hospitalization,” or, interchangeably, “Blue Cross,” after the pioneer. It was a fortunate name, with a built-in reverent hush, like Prudential. Saying “I have Blue Cross” sounded old and established. Many continued to say it even after coverage was expanded to include doctor

bills and the name was changed to Blue Cross & Blue Shield. As competition mounted and other companies got into the business, “group health,” as it was by then known, became America’s new old-time insurance. The decent burial was replaced by the decent complete physical, and the definition of “good husband material” was now a man with “fringe benefits” coming out of his ears. As the matchmakers said, he was “covered.”

It was the Age of the Great Insured. Early group health covered everybody for everything. The premiums were so reasonable they made hardly a dent in your paycheck. When I worked on the *Raleigh News & Observer* in the ’60s, I paid three dollars a week for such generous coverage that I half-resented being healthy. I used it for the usual tests and shots, but otherwise I made no claims.

Millions of others did. Now that health care was “free,” human nature kicked in. People began running to the doctor for the least little thing. Ask them why and they would recite the usual maxims about an ounce of prevention, but it was never long before the truth compulsively popped out: “I hate to waste my insurance.”

There it was, right out in the open: *Eat every mouthful of insurance on that plate! Insurance is good for you. Insurance makes you a better person. If you don’t go to the doctor, people will think you have no insurance. Whatever is wrong with you, insurance will kiss it and make it well.*

These were the cultural hypochondriacs. Others, with a dormant tendency toward the real thing, blossomed into full-flowering nightshade in the rich soil of full coverage. Anyone who worked in an office during these halcyon years probably remembers a monster of self-diagnosis just down the hall. He would have been perfectly all right if he had not overdosed on health insurance, but now he kept a blood-pressure cuff in his desk and believed that the pothole he drove over jarred loose his pancreas, causing what he christened “Errant Gland” during his coffee-break phone call to the doctor.

HalcyonCare couldn’t possibly last. Whenever we insure something its price goes up, as do waste and fraudulent claims. Medical science kept devising

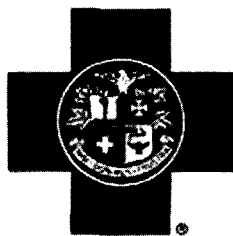
new and increasingly expensive treatments, technology, and pharmaceuticals, forcing Halcyon to raise premiums even more, until companies could no longer afford to provide HalcyonCare to their employees. And the employees, languishing now in their HMOs, could not believe what had happened: Insurance, once a symbol of stability, was now a symbol of chaos.

The honeymoon was over but the honeymoon mindset remained. “It worked fine at first,” people said, reminiscing about HalcyonCare while filling out their stack of forms in the doctor’s waiting room. Of course it did. Everything works fine at first—credit cards, public schools, feminism—because human nature has not been kicking in long enough. The trouble starts when we try to make a basically good idea work for everybody, everywhere, all the time, until the good idea crumbles under the weight put on it and becomes a bad idea.

In the years before World War One, Henry Ford astounded the nation when he announced that he would pay his workers five dollars a day, a munificent wage for the time. His intention was to attract and keep the cream of loyal hard workers. It worked fine at first, until the unions reasoned that if bosses would *volunteer* to pay high wages, think what could be gotten out of them by force. To that end they upped their demands to outrageous levels over the years; more and more raises, benefits, overtime, holidays, rest periods, and bonuses, until the American autoworker was the envy of the blue-collar world. Now he works at Wal-Mart because he priced himself out of the market.

So now we are going to “fix Health Care,” as the current locution has it. We always seem to be “fixing” something—Social Security, the border, levees—but *fix* is an unfortunate choice of words for the tasks at hand. Too cavalier, too likely to be in the same sentence as “a lick and a promise,” or “a little dab’ll do ya.”

Fix is Dagwood with a hammer and a mouthful of nails, trotting off to do what Blondie has been nagging him to do for ages. We all know how that’s going to turn out, so don’t be surprised if, some day in the not too distant future, the Statue of Liberty’s torch is replaced with a sign reading “It Worked Fine at First.” **NR**



Suicide Bombers in Israel—What Do They Really Want?

**Are those who kill innocent civilians seeking freedom and peace . . .
or do they have other motivations?**

What are the facts?

It's easy to sympathize with Arabs in the disputed Israeli territories and Gaza who live in squalid conditions and economic hopelessness. Indeed, many Westerners believe it's this desperate poverty, plus strict Israeli security measures, that drive suicide bombers to blow themselves up in pizza parlors, buses and college cafeterias.

Unfortunately, this romanticized image of the suicide bomber doesn't square with the facts.

Who are these suicide bombers?

Study after study shows that the primary motivation of suicide bombers is neither desperation nor depression nor hopelessness. Indeed most suicide bombers are middle-class, educated and emotionally stable. Noted psychologist Dr. Irwin Mansdorf has observed, "While [suicide bombers] may feel oppressed, the stimulus for the act is nationalistic and political, not psychopathological and clinical. In the case of Islamic terror, [there is] the additional variable of becoming a shahid (martyr), with all its attendant religious rewards."

In fact, it is terrorist groups known for their outspoken religious and political agendas—like Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Hizbollah and Al Qaeda—that claim credit for nearly every suicide bombing in Israel and around the world.

What do they say they want? Hamas and Islamic Jihad—as well as the young men and women they recruit as human bombs—make no secret of their goals. Indeed, Hamas' charter states that "Israel will exist . . . until Islam will obliterate it." Make no mistake: When well-meaning Westerners speak of Israeli "occupation," they generally refer to disputed territories in the West Bank. When Hamas and Islamic Jihad speak of occupation, they refer to all the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River—including all of present-day Israel. Even the official symbol of the Palestinian Authority depicts a map of the region in which there is no Israel.

It is telling that Palestinian suicide bombers never claim they are killing to achieve peace with Israel. Rather, they murder as a matter of honor, as a religious and political imperative—to

rid the region of a people they see as infidels. Ultimately, of course, all jihadists—whether in Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, or Iran—seek to make the world, including the U.S., a fundamentalist Islamic dictatorship.

Can killing innocent civilians lead to peace? What is the military objective of randomly killing unarmed men, women and children as they dine, dance or celebrate religious events? It can only be to strike terror in the hearts of its victims, their families and their communities. We must ask: When has this barbaric tactic ever worked—when has it led to peace and freedom for its perpetrators? The answer is never—never in human history has terrorism succeeded as

a military strategy. Yet the suicide bombings continue, even as Israel withdraws from Gaza and places more territory in the hands of Palestinians.

Why do Palestinian poverty and security restrictions continue? Suicide bombers never claim they kill innocents to solve the Palestinians' economic plight, but there's no doubt that Arabs in Gaza and the disputed territories suffer from heart-rending poverty, corruption, and political oppression. Billions of dollars have poured into the Palestinian Authority from the U.S., the U.N and European nations, but virtually none of this money has found its way to economic development—in fact, most of it has landed in the bank accounts of corrupt Palestinian politicians or to support terror operations. Indeed, to this day, the Palestinian Authority still makes reward payments to the families of suicide bombers. Now that the avowedly terrorist group Hamas has taken control of the Palestinian Authority, the world community must cut off this funding and limit aid strictly to humanitarian purposes.

Don't believe, either, that suicide bombers kill civilians to rid Israel of its security fence or to end its many security checkpoints, which cause great inconvenience and frustration for many Palestinians. Indeed, it is precisely to prevent murder by suicide bombers that Israel has instituted these stringent security measures. The good news is, they work.

What's the next step toward Arab-Israeli peace? Above all, Muslims must, as *New York Times* writer Anne Applebaum asserts, "change the culture that celebrates self-immolation and that sick form of honor and pride." Instead of glorifying suicide bombers, the Muslim world, on whose behalf these terrorists claim they are acting, must scorn their barbaric acts. Only then can we hope for peace . . . in Israel, in Iraq, and in the rest of the world.

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The Bishops' Borders

A question of principles and practicalities

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

CARDINAL ROGER MAHONY of Los Angeles recently proposed that Catholics begin the Lenten season by fasting and praying to defeat a bill just passed by the House of Representatives to tighten up the enforcement of immigration control and border security. It sounded like a new sort of progressive penance for recalcitrant pre-Vatican II Catholics—but the cardinal was apparently in earnest. He warned his archdiocese that “hysterical” anti-immigrant sentiment was sweeping the nation, argued that the House bill was tantamount to “punishing people who help immigrants,” suggested that it could mean the Church would have to ask for documentation before serving communion at the altar rail, called for “humane” reform of immigration law more or less identical with the McCain-Kennedy bill (amnesty, guest workers, more family-reunification visas, etc.), announced that he would instruct his priests to ignore and even defy the rules if they became law, and declared that he himself would go to prison if necessary to make the point.

There were a number of oddities about this heroic defiance of impending tyranny. To begin with, nobody was asking Cardinal Mahony to report any illegal aliens at the altar rail or even at the soup kitchen. Yes, the bill at that legislative stage was impermissibly broad (partly as a result of Democratic votes aiming to discredit it), but everyone knew that it would be amended at later stages. The provisions that provoked Cardinal Mahony were aimed at organized gangs of people-smugglers (sometimes known as “coyotes” or, in Asia, “snakeheads”) rather than at nuns and social workers. Nor were these aspects of the legislation very new. It has been against the law for decades for people to assist the smuggling and hiding of illegal aliens—and yet comparatively few cardinals have been dragged off to prison during this period. Maybe the cops, notoriously respectful of the cloth, have been turning a blind eye.

Not only was the cardinal safe, he really ought to have *felt* safe—since, according to one of the bill’s co-sponsors, Rep. Peter King (R., N.Y.), “no one has ever, ever gone after any church or religious organization for that. And we’ve told that to the Catholic Conference.” Mahony’s martyrdom had been indefinitely postponed. Even if the cardinal had been facing a real threat, it would still have been somewhat unseemly for him to strike a pose of civil disobedience and to urge the sheltering of fugitives from the law—

urgings he repeated in a *New York Times* op-ed—at a time when the American Catholic Church was only just recovering from the sexual-abuse scandal. At the very least, in the worldly-wise words of Rick Blaine in *Casablanca*, “It’s poor salesmanship.”

IN THE DEMOCRATS’ POCKET?

Why, then, did Cardinal Mahony strike such a defiant pose when he was facing nothing worse than a conference call with other bishops and some legislative staffers? A partly charitable explanation is that he spoke without ever asking his fellow bishops, “Hey, do the Republicans really intend to lock us all up?” That would be the “tabloid” defense: too good to check. Another possible explanation is that Mahony—along with the other Catholic bishops and, even more, the clerical bureaucracy servicing them—was desperately keen to find an issue on which he could pronounce “Thou art anathema” to Republicans. Many bishops are abortion-weary and really dislike being seen as the political allies of George W. Bush and the Party of Greed. It’s not their fault: The Democrats keep forcing them into this position. But it irks them. And they look for other issues on which they can flaunt their liberalism.

Mahony himself had already ventured into this territory in 1994, when he warned Catholics that supporting Proposition 187—limiting public services for illegal immigrants—was a grave social sin. This warning had seemingly little effect. Californian Catholics—one-third of whom are Hispanic—opposed 187 by a bare majority of 51 percent to 49 percent. But non-Hispanic white Catholics favored it by 58 percent to 42 percent, which was 187’s margin of victory statewide.

Maybe the cardinal reckoned that, this time, he needed to add a little drama in order to make an impact. If so, he has succeeded—but not necessarily to his advantage. For as well as raising the question of immigration reform, he has reopened the perennial topic of the proper limits of the Catholic Church’s teaching authority. A regular comedy is played out whenever this topic arises. Liberal Catholics and the secular media generally favor the idea that the faithful should ignore the instructions of the Pope and the bishops. They are especially delighted that many Catholics flout Church teaching on sexual questions, which conduct they interpret as the maturing of previously superstitious Irish, Italian, and Polish peas-

ants. At the same time, when the bishops denounce capitalism or America's Cold War nuclear strategy—or, better yet, when the Pope calls for the abolition of capital punishment or declares the Iraq War to be an unjust one—the same liberals feel obscurely that conservative Catholics have a duty to follow the teachings of the Church. Such distinctions as what kind of teaching on what kind of authority on what kind of issues weigh only slightly with them. They are cafeteria Catholics on gay marriage and table d'hôte Catholics on capital punishment. Unfortunately, they cannot articulate a general principle that justifies their coming down on their preferred side in these different cases.

THE PROPER SPHERES

Well, I am no theologian, as the old vaudeville song has it, but the essential distinction is simple to the point of being commonsensical. For Catholics, the Church is an authoritative guide on matters of faith or morals. Abortion is a very clear violation of a right to life that the Church believes should be protected. And though some liberal Catholics such as Garry Wills would disagree, the Catholic Church's prohibition of it is binding on a Catholic conscience. But Catholic social doctrine is a mixture of moral principles and practical considerations. And on the practicalities, others—secular experts of various kinds—are likely to be better guides than theologians or even bishops.

Thus a Catholic is obliged to give prayerful consideration to the advice of his bishop on justly rewarding workers. If, however, Milton Friedman demonstrates that the method recommended by

Church who have been specially trained and set aside to look after what concerns us as creatures who are going to live forever: and we are asking them to do a quite different job for which they have not been trained [when we call on them to provide political leadership]. The job is really on us, on the laymen. The application of Christian principles, say, to trade unionism and education, must come from Christian trade unionists and Christian schoolmasters: just as Christian literature comes from Christian novelists and dramatists—not from the bench of bishops getting together and trying to write plays and novels in their spare time.” This was strikingly confirmed a few years ago when the Catholic bishops issued a statement on the economy, replete with learned digressions on taxes, growth rates, income distribution, and much else. An enterprising journalist telephoned around and asked them what a marginal tax rate was. Most had no idea. Or, as Fr. Richard John Neuhaus commented: “To put it gently, they did not know what they were talking about.” That is undesirable when instructing the faithful.

BEYOND THEIR PROVINCE

Now, do the Catholic bishops today know what they are talking about on immigration? It is not only Cardinal Mahony who has been acting prophetic. In 2003, the Catholic bishops of the U.S. and Mexico put out a joint pastoral letter on immigration: “Strangers No Longer: Together on the Journey of Hope.” This was a comprehensive application of Catholic social principles to the question of immigration—and particularly of Mexican immigration to the U.S. To support this statement, a full-fledged political campaign—

‘The application of Christian principles, say, to trade unionism and education, must come from Christian trade unionists and Christian schoolmasters.’

the bishops is likely to result not in higher standards of living but in higher rates of unemployment, the same Catholic should look for different ways of advancing the same principle; in seeking these other ways, moreover, he is bound to ensure that they meet the moral criteria defined by the Church.

My old journalistic mentor, the late T. E. Utley, a conservative High Anglican, summed up this argument by concluding that on most political issues a wide range of solutions (doubtless excluding fascist and Communist ones) would meet Christian criteria. The average Christian-in-the-pew should therefore consider not, “What are the answers a Christian should give?” but rather, “What are the questions a Christian should ask?” That being so, political debate could well encompass fiercely partisan battles by groups of Christians offering opposed policies, all rooted in Christian questions but reaching different conclusions about the empirical evidence. In his recent first encyclical, the new Pope seems to agree with my old friend, suggesting that Christian laymen should play the main role in politics—advancing policies—while the Church seeks to illumine the debate and enlighten the minds of legislators by offering perspectives based on reason and charity.

C. S. Lewis made the same point in *Mere Christianity* (I am grateful to James Fulford for the reference) with his usual vividness: “The clergy are those particular people within the whole

“Justice for Immigrants: A Journey of Hope”—has been launched complete with website. And the first thing to be said about these various efforts is that they are an extremely useful reminder of most of the moral principles that should guide, or at least inform, all people of good will in considering this matter.

Unfortunately, other things also need to be said. For practical purposes the original document and its supporting material amount to an endorsement of the most extreme proposals to open the borders and deregulate immigration. In supporting such proposals down to quite detailed legislative and administrative points—for instance, ensuring that remittances to Mexico go to certain community projects—the bishops surely cross the border between the proper roles of the clergy and laity as outlined above. Indeed, it crosses the border in both directions since, in addition to the Catholic clergy's dictating detailed reforms of immigration law, it is perfectly clear that Catholic doctrine has been sharply influenced by contemporary secular-liberal ideas on economic and cultural questions, notably by multiculturalism. And sometimes the different policy prescriptions clash, as when the document calls on the U.S. both to abandon border strategies that force migrants to seek dangerous routes (i.e., loosen border control) and to take action to regulate human trafficking across the border more rigorously.

THE FACTS, PLEASE

Nor are all of the facts on which the bishops base their appeal entirely reliable. A note here to aspiring investigative journalists: Always go to the section of a document headlined "Myths." These are almost always inconvenient truths, the "corrections" of which turn out to be themselves more mythical than the supposed myths. So it is here. The document's evidence that immigrants do not depress the labor market is taken from a 1994 study and takes no account of the massive economic research since done, notably by Harvard's George Borjas, showing indisputably that immigration has depressed wages for lower-income Americans and driven millions of them, especially black Americans, out of the labor market altogether. Similarly, its claim that immigrants pay more in taxes than they derive in social benefits is based on a study that assumed the immigrants derived no benefits from such expenditures as those on road building, defense, libraries, parks, infrastructure, and all the other public goods government provides. If the same assumption is applied to native-born Americans, they too pay more in taxes than they derive in social benefits. Somebody in outer space is presumably paying for our towns and cities. One statistic, however, is broadly accurate (though also slightly out of date): "The

Contract magazine, prominent Catholics quite happily promoted severe controls on immigration without provoking any suspicion that they were going against Catholic doctrine. Fr. Theodore Hesburgh, for instance, was chairman of the 1979 Special Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policies that proposed employer sanctions and an immigration ceiling more than a third lower than today's.

This drift of official U.S. Catholic thought seems to have been the result of several factors, not all of them strictly moral or religious: the Universal Church's long-held skepticism towards the nation-state; the upsurge of refugee and asylum problems following wars in the 1990s; what Simcox calls "cornucopian" economics, or the belief that immigration makes the receiving country better off without impoverishing the sending country; and, above all perhaps, a certain Roman insouciance towards the cultural basis of nationhood.

Catholic bishops often sound uncomfortably close to libertarians in treating the nation not as a community centered around certain moral and political principles but as simply a place where strangers meet and work. What is most obviously missing from their pastoral statements is any sense that the American people are a people whose traditions, language, culture, political principles,

Catholic bishops often sound uncomfortably close to libertarians in treating the nation as simply a place where strangers meet and work.

net benefit of immigration to the U.S. [actually to native-born Americans] is nearly \$10 billion annually." That sounds large, but it is trivial in an economy worth \$12.8 trillion last year. Bill Gates's inheritance tax will give us as much.

While the bishops may speak with authority on moral principles, they would be well advised—when they turn to their practical application—to take a back seat to such secular experts as Borjas. Or perhaps to the British academic duo—Cambridge economist Robert Rowthorn and Oxford demographer David Coleman—who concluded in their recent survey of immigration research: "The claim that U.S. prosperity has been driven by immigration, as opposed to driving it, appears to lack any academic support."

But are the bishops entirely reliable even when they outline the moral principles that should guide us on immigration? At times the Journey to Hope campaign seems as disingenuous as . . . well, as Bill Clinton. It asserts that the Catholic Church is opposed to illegal immigration and supports border security, yet its practical proposals almost without exception would undermine such border control and facilitate illegal immigration. And while asserting that one principle that guides the bishops is the right of sovereign nations to control their borders, their current position is the culmination of a long journey towards reducing that right to a footnote.

It seems to have been forgotten that until about 30 years ago the right of the migrant to immigrate and the right of the nation to regulate immigration were held in something like equal tension by the U.S. Church. As David Simcox pointed out in *The Social*

and "mystic chords of memory" are legitimate objects of love and preservation. An earlier generation of American bishops understood this very well, but like their fellows in the secular liberal intelligentsia, the present bishops are tone deaf on this. That is changing in Europe, where the establishment of large Muslim communities (together with the secular fundamentalism of European governments) is alerting the Church to the religious and cultural foundations of nation and civilization. Catholic immigrants pose a challenge about which the bishops will understandably be less worried—one that in sufficient proportions might weaken a national identity even as it strengthens a religious one—but which they should treat seriously, especially at a time when large demonstrations of illegal immigrants are waving Mexican flags and denying the legitimacy of America's borders.

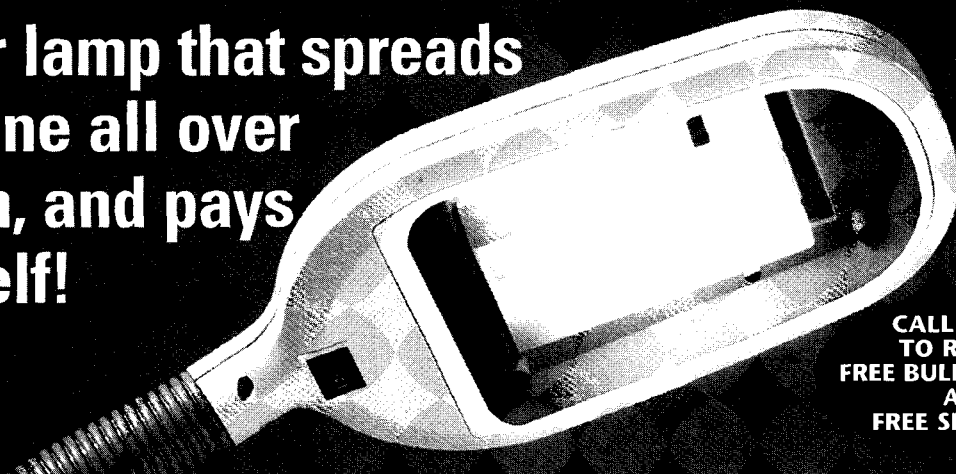
An immigration policy inspired by such legitimate concerns would presumably aim at lower and more assimilable immigration levels. It would be accompanied by domestic policies that move away from multiculturalism towards assimilation. It would seek to ensure a more "diverse" mix of immigrants, since immigrants from several nations and cultures encourage voluntary adoption of the new nation's language, culture, and practices, while single-source immigration from a different culture tends to encourage a divisive biculturalism. In order to achieve these objects, it would have to tolerate a fair level of regulation. And, in all these matters, it should naturally be conducted in a spirit of charity and understanding—towards immigrants, of course, but even towards bishops.

And for that there ought to be a prayer.

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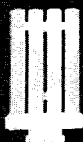
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Kos World

The power, glory, and weakness of the bloggy Left

BYRON YORK

MARKOS MOULITSAS is describing a frustrating period in his life. It was 2002, George W. Bush was in the White House, and in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks no one in Washington—Democrats included—seemed willing to criticize the president. Moulitsas, a passionate liberal, couldn't believe what he was seeing. "I was driving my co-workers and my wife and my friends crazy, ranting and ranting and ranting about how terrible things were," he says. "There were no liberal voices in the media landscape—there were none."

So to vent his frustrations, to push back a little, and perhaps to become that lonely liberal voice in the media landscape, Moulitsas started blogging. "I felt the need to just get it off my chest," he says. "I needed a voice, and there was a tool, finally, that gave me that ability to share my voice." The tool, of course, was the Internet, and Moulitsas started writing entries for MyDD—the DD stands for "direct democracy"—a groundbreaking political blog started by the Washington-based Democratic strategist Jerome Armstrong. Later, Moulitsas would start his own blog, DailyKos, which would become the biggest and most influential political blog on the left.

Moulitsas is telling his story to a group of students and fans gathered at George Washington University in late March. He is with Armstrong, and together they are, as much as anyone, responsible for creating the most energetic force in Democratic politics today: the left-wing blogosphere. They're hawking a new book, *Crashing the Gate: Netroots, Grassroots, and the Rise of People-Powered Politics*, in which they bash Republican and Democratic party operatives alike, boast of their own political savvy, and argue for the creation of a left-wing "noise machine"—websites, TV programs, talk radio, think tanks—to match the right-wing noise machine that they contend is a key part of Republican electoral success.

Conservatives would undoubtedly be baffled by their analysis of events—*Did he really say there were no liberal voices in the media landscape?*—but the sense of frustration Moulitsas and Armstrong describe not only appears to be heartfelt but is also, apparently, shared by thousands of people like them. While there is no universally accepted standard of measurement for the readership of blogs, Moulitsas and Armstrong claim that the top 70 liberal blogs attract about 60 million "page views" per month. It's not clear how many people that means, although Moulitsas claims his blog reaches about 1 million people per week. But even if the real figure is significantly lower, and many observers think it is, there is no doubt that DailyKos, like the left-wing blogosphere in general, has lots of readers.

Of course, so do blogs on the right. The difference is that bloggers on the right spend most of their time commenting on the news of the day, while bloggers on the left claim to be building a new political movement, one that is revolutionizing Democratic-party politics. Listen to liberal bloggers talk and it won't be long before they say they are "building communities." "Progressive blogs build communities of activists and generate new political activity online," says a key study of the blogosphere, done for the Washington-based New Democrat Network, an early booster of Moulitsas and Armstrong. "The progressive blogosphere is introducing new actors into the political scene."

It sounds impressive. And there is no doubt that the bloggers are having an impact. But talks with Democratic strategists and political players suggest it may not be the impact that the bloggers want. At this moment, the left-wing blogosphere is not only the most energetic force inside the Democratic party—it is also the most divisive. The question now is whether it will contribute to Democratic victories in midterm elections this November, or instead end up being the Republicans' not-so-secret weapon as they fight off their own problems and try to keep control of Congress.

SLEAZEBAG BLOWHARD AMORAL CHICKENHAWKS

Liberal bloggers often bristle when they are described as "angry." But how else would one describe Moulitsas's broadside, early this year, in which he attacked the War on Terror? The basis for that war, and for the Bush administration's efforts to prevent future terrorist attacks, is not, he wrote, a genuine concern for national security but, rather, conservative cowardice. "Why are conservatives so afraid?" Moulitsas wrote, suggesting that real men wouldn't be scared of another 9/11-style attack. "These blowhards pretend they are macho, even as they piddle on themselves in abject terror from every 'boo' that comes out of Osama bin Laden's mouth."

On another occasion, also early this year, Moulitsas recounted bin Laden's denunciation of Bill Clinton—bin Laden once mentioned "immoral acts committed in the official Oval Office"—and concluded, "Wow, he sounds just like Republicans!" The lesson in that, Moulitsas concluded, was this: "Let's not forget that ultimately, Osama's vision for the Arab world is far more akin to the Right's vision of America . . . The reason we hate Islamic fundamentalists is pretty much the same reason we're fighting to take back this country from the Republicans. They are two peas from the same pod, and diametrically opposed to everything we liberals stand for."

Such overheated rhetoric would be fine with most Democrats—even those who would never use such words themselves—if it were aimed only at Republicans. But at the DailyKos, anger can go in all directions. And lately a good bit of it has been hitting Democrats.

Not long ago, for example, a mainstream Democratic strategist named Steve Elmendorf—he worked extensively with former House minority leader Richard Gephardt—was quoted in the *Washington Post* saying of the liberal blogosphere, "The trick will be to harness their energy and their money without looking like you are a captive of the activist Left." That might not seem a terribly controversial statement, but upon reading it, the activist Left became very, very angry. Calling Elmendorf a "sleazebag amoral

lobbyist," Moulitsas threatened to put him out of business. "Here's notice, any Democrat associated with Elmendorf will be outed," Moulitsas wrote. "The netroots can then decide for itself whether it wants to provide some of that energy and money to that candidate."

A threat like that resonates in the Democratic political world, much more so than the anger pointed at Republicans, because Moulitsas and the "netroots" can bring money and buzz to favored candidates—and deny them to non-favored candidates. "The online community collectively can generate \$100,000 for a candidate, which is not insignificant," says one Democratic strategist (not Steve Elmendorf) who asked to remain anonymous. "But the paradox is, in order for the community to take sufficient interest in the candidate, the candidate has to do or say something that would make it impossible to win in the district."

The strategist points to the experience of Democrat Paul Hackett in his run for Congress from Ohio's 2nd District. Hackett, a veteran of the Iraq War, loudly called President Bush a "chickenhawk" and, echoing Moulitsas, said "the Republican party has been hijacked by the religious fanatics that, in my opinion, aren't a whole lot different than Osama bin Laden." The left-wing blogosphere cheered wildly and raised thousands of dollars for him. But in the end, Hackett narrowly lost to Republican representative Jean Schmidt, who was widely regarded as a very weak candidate. He later launched an abortive attempt to run for the Senate, but fell victim to his own inexperience and tendency to make extreme statements—the very things the bloggers loved him for.

Another example of the blogosphere's political touch came in March of this year, when the blogs threw their weight behind the candidacy of former Democratic congressman Ciro Rodriguez in his primary race to unseat Texas representative Henry Cuellar, a moderate Democrat running for reelection from Texas's 28th District. Cuellar's sin had been to embrace President Bush at this year's State of the Union address; the blogs endlessly reproduced the photo. Again, the so-called "netroots" activists raised lots of money for the challenger, but Rodriguez, like Hackett, lost—in this case, by 12 percentage points.

Their experience is not unusual. The left-wing blogosphere's record in picking winners is, in a word, dismal. In the last couple of years, Moulitsas has decided to give special support to a total of 13 Democratic congressional candidates. All of them lost. And that, of course, doesn't count John Kerry in 2004.

INSIDE THE TENT

Despite all their defeats, Moulitsas and his allies in the liberal blogosphere are increasingly seen as a force to be reckoned with. Why?

Certainly politicians want the money they can raise. And officeholders aren't in the business of turning down support. But it may be that, more than anything, Democratic politicians fear having the bloggers as enemies; with their energy and their megaphone, they can be the source of endless aggravation.

So increasingly Democratic officeholders and candidates are trying to bring the bloggers inside, to make them feel included—and to blunt their criticisms. For example, in recent months the blogs have been quite angry at House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi, feeling that she has been ineffective at fighting back against Republicans and fearful that she will support the regulation of political speech on the Internet. In March, the DailyKos held a poll of its readers asking whether they approved of the job that Pelosi, Senate Democratic leader Harry Reid, and Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean were doing. The readers loved Dean; 84 percent approved of his performance. They were so-so on Reid, who scored a 50 percent approval rate. But they couldn't stand Pelosi—just 19 percent approved of her performance.

So now Pelosi has begun to "reach out" to the blogs. "We are talking to them more, we are doing conference calls with them," says a source close to Pelosi who asked not to be named. Pelosi

learned that the bloggers were not just angry over Internet regulation; they also felt she should have been more supportive of the anti-war statements of Democratic representative John Murtha, and they wanted her to take a leading role in an ethics crusade against Rep. Bob Ney and other Republicans. Pelosi is as partisan as they come, but that wasn't her way of doing things. "I think there was a real misunderstanding of what we do in the House," the source says. The source also notes that Pelosi is personally not terribly Web-savvy; she doesn't surf the blogs herself and relies on staff to tell

her what is in them. She wasn't really aware of how much the netroots types resented her.

The conference call—she didn't take part, but her chief of staff did—helped smooth things over and will likely reduce the level of criticism directed at Pelosi. Still, she's got a long way to go to catch up with Reid; his spokesman says Reid has done a half-dozen conference calls with bloggers in the last year. And Reid himself is said to read the blogs and to believe that they are, in the spokesman's words, "an important party outreach of the war room." Reid has also spoken personally with Moulitsas and has agreed to appear at the first DailyKos convention, YearlyKos, this June in Las Vegas. That doesn't mean he won't face criticism, but it probably saves him from some of the savaging directed at other lawmakers.

The most extensive effort to court the bloggers is being made by a Democratic presidential candidate, former Virginia governor Mark Warner, who has hired Jerome Armstrong to handle Internet matters for his campaign. It was a very smart move; if one reads the DailyKos, where the readership is naturally inclined to support Bush-censuring senator Russell Feingold, one finds few negative remarks about Warner. "Politicians have figured this out," says yet another Democratic strategist. "Mark Warner hired Jerome Armstrong, he put him in a job that doesn't affect his message, and there's been a semi-love affair with Warner going on all over the blogosphere ever since. He respected the blogosphere enough to hire one of them." In the coming months, every Democratic candidate will undoubtedly do something similar. They can't afford not to.



DailyKos titan Markos Moulitsas

NAME THE KING

"Our message is simple," Moulitsas and Armstrong write in *Crashing the Gate*. "You can get out of the way or work with us. Trying to stop us is a losing proposition." If you're a Democrat, that's probably true. But that doesn't mean that working with Moulitsas and Armstrong is a *winning* proposition.

The problem with the left-wing blogosphere's approach to politics might not be that they are too far to the left, or too angry, or too eager to be heard. It might be that the combination of all those things makes them self-isolating. Read the DailyKos and MyDD, as well as other top sites like Atrios, AMERICAblog, Crooks and Liars, Democratic Underground, and FireDogLake, and you'll find a lot of angry statements that can be reduced to this: George W. Bush is a warmonger, or a chickenhawk, or a moron, and Democrats are wimps and weasels for not standing up to him. The first point obviously turns off all Republicans, and the second turns off many Democrats. In the end, the bloggers are left mostly with themselves.

And that, in political terms, is a pretty small group. Even if the DailyKos reaches as many people as Moulitsas claims, it's not a huge number when one considers that John Kerry received 60 million votes in 2004 and lost. What the netroots enthusiasts overlook is that the country is so large that its political fringes are big, too—one might create an organization that attracts a million people, or 2 million, and not reach beyond the most intense fraction of the Democratic base.

"You can build your own community on the Net," says Joe Trippi, the former Dean campaign manager who has worked closely with Moulitsas and netroots activists, but it won't necessarily bring you victory. "The Dean campaign was 650,000 people," Trippi says. "You have to have 60 million to be president."

Trippi is a booster of the political uses of the Internet, and he believes it will grow enormously in the future, but he recites an example that illustrates the hazards of such an approach. "If you try to start a rock gardeners' community online, I guarantee you, if you become the biggest authority on rock gardens on the Net, then 100,000 or 200,000 people would sign up. If you are passionate about rock gardening, you can build a rock-gardening community."

That is undoubtedly true, but it simply shows that in a country the size of the United States, you can attract a lot of people to even the most esoteric of ideas. And if you attract 200,000 members of the rock-gardening community, what have you got? A significant slice of the American population? Or a bunch of rock-gardening enthusiasts? By the same light, even if 1 million people read the DailyKos each week, they're probably the same 1 million who respond to ads from MoveOn.org and listen to Air America radio. That explains a lot about how the DailyKos can seem so successful and at the same time be so limited.

Not long ago, a political scientist referred to Moulitsas as a "kingmaker." To which another blogger, Mickey Kaus, replied, "Oh yeah? Name the king." The fact is, there is no such king—nor even a member of Congress. Now, surely that will change. Surely in the future at least one Moulitsas-supported candidate will win a campaign. But it will take much more than one victory to make not just Moulitsas, but the entire left-wing blogosphere, into kingmakers. There might not be enough rock gardeners out there to make it happen.

NR

■ PUBLIC POLICY

A Tax Reform to Run With

\$5,000 per child, and other winning ideas

RAMESH PONNURU

THE Republican party is going through a rough patch right now. To the extent that it has a strategy for getting through it, the strategy does not involve promoting popular legislation. Republicans seem to be out of ideas, or at least ideas they think will work under the political circumstances of the moment.

Usually, when Republicans find themselves in political trouble, they turn to the tax issue. But the deficit is constraining them from doing that. They are finding it too hard to hold on to their past tax cuts to offer any large new ones.

Instead of cutting taxes, how about reforming them? The idea of reform is attractive. But if the tax reform can't also be a tax cut, then it has to involve raising some people's taxes in order to cut them for others.

There's another problem. Conservatives are unrealistic about tax reform. President Bush's commission on tax reform devised plans that would have scaled back deductions and made the tax code less biased against investment. Some of the commission's proposals were politically naïve, others unimaginative. But conservative groups criticized the commission for other reasons: They thought it had not gone far enough toward a flat tax or national sales tax. Neither idea could possibly pass through Congress, or any Congress in the next ten years. If conservatives insist on something like the flat tax or no reform at all, the latter is what they are going to get.

The cause of conservative tax reform has to be rescued from conservative tax reformers. Republicans (and Democrats) can enact a popular tax reform that advances conservative objectives—although they might have to buck the conservative think tanks to do it.

THE PLAN

The centerpiece of the plan would be a massive expansion of the tax credit for children. Currently \$1,000, it would grow to \$5,000 per child. It would keep growing over time, tracking the growth in wages. It would be available to all parents no matter how much they earn, with the limit being the amount they pay in income and payroll taxes.

The second big feature of the plan would be to replace the standard deduction with a tax credit worth \$1,500 for adult individuals

Mr. Ponnuru is an NR senior editor and the author of *Party of Death*, forthcoming from Regnery Publishing in late April.

A high-contrast, black and white portrait of a smiling woman, likely a child, with a grainy, textured appearance. The image is heavily stylized, with the subject's face and features rendered in stark white against a dark, noisy background. The woman is looking slightly to the right of the camera with a gentle smile. The overall effect is reminiscent of a high-contrast photocopy or a heavily processed photograph.

False Alarms

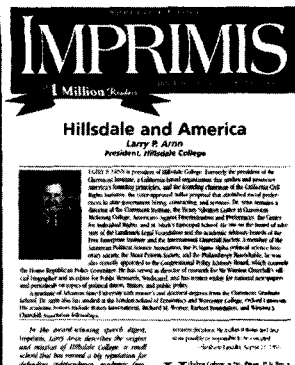
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and \$3,000 for couples that can be used to offset income taxes. (These too would rise with wages.)

All itemized deductions, other than those for mortgage interest and charitable donations, would be scrapped. So would the tax credits for daycare and adoption, which would be folded into the new, big child tax credit. (Parents who take the new child credit would not be able to take the earned income credit as well.) The alternative minimum tax for individuals would go, too. And the plan would get rid of the separate tax schedule for "heads of household": Single parents would file as singles.

The separate tax rates for capital gains would be abolished. Capital gains would be taxed as income, but half of net long-term capital gains would be excluded. Estates would be taxed the same way as capital gains, but with a \$1 million exemption per filer. Dividends would be taxed once, either as individual income or corporate income.

The six individual income-tax rates would be replaced with two: a 15 percent rate and a 30 percent rate. The brackets would be set so as to end the marriage penalty and to raise as much money as the current tax code. The corporate tax rate would be set at 30 percent, too, with accelerated write-offs for corporate investments.

This plan would help families, promote economic growth, and simplify the tax code. It would bring tax rates down and reduce their number. It would cut taxes on saving and investment. It would eliminate the alternative minimum tax, which forces many people to prepare two tax returns and pay the bigger one. It would cut the number of deductions and phase-outs. It would end the federal tax code's bias against private and parochial schools (by ending the deduction for state and local taxes).

The result would be a tax code very similar to the one we had right after the last big tax reform, in 1986, but with two differences. Tax rates would be slightly higher, and the treatment of investment would be better.

CHILDREN AS A HOBBY

If President Bush were to propose this plan, however, some influential conservatives would pan it. The plan isn't the flat tax or a national sales tax. Worse, in the eyes of some conservatives, would be the large tax credit for children. Those unhappy conservatives would make three basic charges: It's a waste of money; it's social engineering; and it takes too many people off the tax rolls.

They view an expanded child credit as a waste of money because it would reduce federal revenue without spurring economic growth. A tax plan that got rid of the child credit would have room for more pro-growth initiatives: bigger capital-gains tax cuts, for example. They consider it social engineering because they think the tax code should simply try to raise money efficiently, not discriminate between the economic choices people make. And since the expanded credit would wipe out many people's federal income-tax liabilities altogether, they worry that these people would vote for big-spending political candidates without caring about the cost.

These are the criticisms that many economic conservatives have been making about the child credit since Republicans started pushing for the current, puny one a dozen years ago. At that time, I overheard one supply-sider complaining to another that if having children deserved a tax break, so did her favorite hobby: skiing.

But the critics are wrong. Economically speaking, children are not just a consumption good, like skiing. The costs of raising

children, including forgone income, represent investments in human capital—investments that are currently overtaxed. The way our old-age entitlements are set up levies a large implicit tax on child-rearing. Parents pay the costs of raising the children who will one day pay for everyone's Medicare and Social Security. Childless people thus free-ride on parents' financial sacrifices. A large child credit is a way of offsetting the federal government's bias against having children. It's a move toward governmental neutrality, not social engineering.

The last time I made this point, I got a few rather bitter e-mails from childless conservatives who countered that they already subsidize other people's children because they pay for public education. But that's a small part of the cost of raising children. Besides, those e-mailers didn't pay for their own primary schooling. They want the benefit of having gotten an education without the burden of ever paying for one: another free ride. Asking childless people to help pay for the education of the next generation is already a fair trade. There's no bias in favor of children for the tax code to offset.

The waste-of-money argument ignores the child credit's value in cutting taxes on investment in human capital. It also misreads the political climate. Supply-siders are highly unlikely to get anything better than this plan gives them: a reduction in the top tax rate to 30 percent, a corporate tax cut, and so on. Their ability to get those things is almost certainly improved if they are tied to a policy that many millions of American families will like.

The conservatives who make the tax-roll argument never seem to notice that it applies equally to their beloved flat tax, which takes millions of people off the tax rolls, too. A pro-family tax reform would not, however, take people off the tax rolls permanently. It would take low-income and middle-income people off the tax rolls while they raise children, and put them back on when they are through. (The reform, in other words, wouldn't just shift the tax burden from one type of household to another. It would also shift the burden within the same household over time.) Parents are disproportionately future-oriented—and conservative—voters. The possibility that a child credit would make many of them partial to free-spending politicians seems remote. It is at least as possible that the new tax policy would enable some people to start families earlier than they would have otherwise done, and in this fashion have a conservative influence on voting behavior.

A pro-family tax reform would probably be less controversial among the public at large than among conservative economists. It wouldn't stir up the kind of opposition that a flat tax would. It wouldn't, for example, do anything to anger the homeowners, realtors, and homebuilders who would attack any plan that involved getting rid of the mortgage-interest deduction. Or the foundations, churches, and charities who want to keep the charitable deduction. Or the liberals, unions, and others who want to keep the progressive rate structure. This plan would sidestep all of those fights.

Because the plan proposes a revenue-neutral reform, it would create losers as well as winners. It would probably have the incidental effect of raising average tax rates for affluent taxpayers while lowering their marginal tax rates. (It could do both of these things at the same time because it would be more efficient than the tax system we have now.) In general, however, the losers would be upscale, childless, and often single people, many of whom wouldn't even realize their taxes were being raised. Although the plan isn't deliberately designed to hide the increased tax burden on

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Like a picked flower cut from the source, we gradually wilt physically and mentally and become vulnerable to a host of degenerative diseases, that we simply weren't susceptible to in our early adult years.

Modern medical science now regards aging as a disease that is treatable and preventable and that "aging", the disease, is actually a compilation of various diseases and pathologies, from everything, like a rise in blood glucose and pressure to diabetes, skin wrinkling and so on. All of these aging symptoms can be stopped and rolled back by maintaining Growth Hormone levels in the blood at the same levels HGH existed in the blood when we were 25 years old. There is a receptorsite in almost every cell in the human

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these people, the increase would not jump out at the casual reader of a newspaper description of the plan.

And there are other reasons to expect that singles would not form a great obstacle to the plan. Every once in a while you hear about attempts to organize single people as a voting bloc to demand their rights against a society that supposedly privileges families. Singles do vote differently than married people. They vote for Democrats, while married people vote for Republicans. But singles don't vote nearly as often—a fact that is increasingly driving Democratic strategists to distraction. What may be most important is that singles don't vote as a conscious bloc against married voters. Many of them aspire to have families one day themselves, after all, and that portion of singles will not object to a child credit.

Parents, meanwhile, would be big winners. They consist disproportionately of two kinds of people: Republicans and swing voters. In the latter category are working-class cultural conservatives who have Democratic histories but have been voting for Republicans in recent elections. This proposal would give a tangible benefit to both groups—which is more than can be said for anything else Washington has done lately. It could therefore help to solidify and expand the Republican base.

VIVE LE QUEBEC?

Ross Douhat and Reihan Salam have recently proposed an alternative policy that they believe would have the same political advantages. In the fall, they wrote a much-discussed essay for *The Weekly Standard* arguing that Bush and Congress needed to do more for “Sam’s Club Republicans.” They urged “an economic policy that places the two-parent family—the institution best capable of providing cultural stability and economic security—at the heart of the GOP agenda.” Their specific policy recommendations were tentative.

The next GOP tax cut ought to be targeted explicitly to married couples with children—or, alternatively, a creative Republican politician might champion a generous baby bonus, a pro-natalist child benefit designed to help defray the costs of children and to encourage larger families.

Quebec’s Allowance for Newborn Children (ANC), implemented with considerable success in the late 1980s, might serve as a model: The program provided (approximately) \$500 for a first child, \$1,000 for a second, and, for a third and all subsequent children, 20 quarterly payments of \$400. According to one estimate, from Kevin Milligan of the University of British Columbia, this led to a 15 percent bump in the province’s birthrate. . . . [T]he government could offer subsidies to those who provide child care in the home, and pension credits that reflect the economic value of years spent in household labor. Or again, Republicans might consider offering tuition credits for years spent rearing children, which could be exchanged for post-graduate or vocational education.

While Douhat and Salam are right to seek pro-family policies, those policies cannot have the dimensions they envision.

America does not have the sense of demographic panic that Quebec does, because our demographic future is less dire. We are not in the market for the kind of fine-tuned social engineering that Quebec has attempted. A pro-family tax reform might very well increase the number of births. But Americans will support that

reform as a way to help families, not as a way to make the fertility rate tick up. We are not going to discriminate among children based on birth order.

Nor are we going to discriminate among children based on their parents’ marital status. I cannot see Congress enacting a tax cut that is explicitly limited to married couples with children anytime soon. (The tax policy I am advocating favors married couples over singles only insofar as the former are more likely to raise kids. It gives single parents the same breaks—although it ends a special break that the current tax code gives them.)

Giving people an expanded credit for some of the costs of raising children would be more straightforward than the hodgepodge of specific incentives Douhat and Salam envision. We don’t need a subsidy for people who provide child care in the home in addition to the current tax break for daycare. We should just let parents keep more of their money and figure out what child-care arrangement they would prefer. That’s a better policy. It’s also better politics: Politicians can back the policy while steering clear of the Mommy Wars.

This plan offers, as it happens, a larger benefit for children than the Quebecers do. But it pays for these benefits. In the present political climate, with concern about the deficit widespread, that’s an advantage. And the child credit is part of an overall plan that offers benefits to other parts of the Republican coalition. Economic conservatives who are not flat-tax purists will have reason to support it.

What about those elements of the Right that won’t accept a pro-family tax reform? If they have a good case, they should be heard out. But the mere fact of think-tank opposition shouldn’t dissuade Bush or Republican congressmen. The Republican base consists of voters, not think tanks. And this plan would be a tax cut for many of those voters.

This is an unusual moment for Republicans. When they are behind in the polls, they are usually best advised to solidify their support among conservatives first and then try to pick up some independent voters. Right now, however, one of the factors dampening conservative support for Republicans is that Republicans are not doing well among independents. Conservatives would be in a better mood if Republicans’ poll numbers, and prospects, looked better. If that’s true, then Bush and company need to pick up independents either before or at the same time as they court conservatives. Pro-family tax reform is a way to do that.

Some congressional Democrats might even support it. They have family-oriented voters in their districts, too, and the new reform would be more progressive than the current tax code. They may try to amend it in ways conservatives dislike. They might try to get rid of its tax cut for corporations, or attach a general tax hike to it. But if Republicans can’t prevent that kind of hijacking, they don’t deserve to keep their majorities. Democratic support shouldn’t be seen as a political defect of the plan. Both Bush and the Republican Congress could use some big bipartisan accomplishments right about now. (The bankruptcy bill doesn’t count, since it didn’t affect most people.) And if Democrats balk, then they have handed Republicans a nice campaign issue.

And if Bush doesn’t bite? One of John McCain’s advisers told me a few years ago that the senator wanted to stand for “middle-class economics” rather than supply-side orthodoxy. A pro-family tax reform might suit his ambitions nicely.

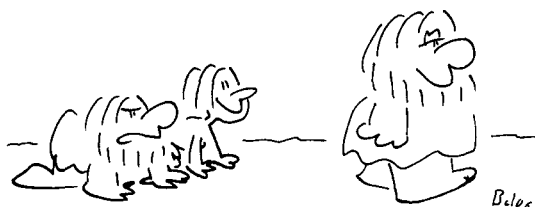
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HELD

HILLARY GETS RELIGION

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The question: "How would Jesus view
Illegals getting hosed?"
The hose, you will intuit's, what
The House GOP aims
Like some, says Hill, Simon Legree.
Her looks kill. Her kick maims.

—W. H. VON DREELE



"Hmph!—he just looks tall because
he's walking upright."



the long view

ROB LONG

Director of Summer Programs
Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.
140 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10005

April 10, 2008

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a current Yale junior seeking a position in your summer intern program.

My background as a part-time spokesman for the former government of Afghanistan prepared me well for a job at Brown Brothers Harriman, and I feel that my language skills—I speak eleven languages: English and ten Pashtun-based dialects—and my organizational abilities—I was responsible for all internal and external communications for the government, and I was chief “go-to” guy for organizing stonings, whore lynchings, and the crushing of homosexuals beneath large boulders—are a strong fit for the fast-paced world of equity capital markets.

While at Yale I have concentrated mostly on studying political science and philosophy, but I have strong “quant” skills and an ability to work well with numbers and complicated metrics. During the last six months of my work in government, I served as comptroller of the currency as well as chancellor of the Taliban Savings Bank in Kabul. Although many of my supervisors are currently missing and/or presumed dead, a good deal of my “direct reports” are incarcerated in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and are therefore technically “reachable” for reference purposes. I would be glad to facilitate this.

Having spent so many years in the nonprofit world of government service, I believe that the time is right for me to explore opportunities in other areas, and the possibility of continued learning and growth at the “crème de la crème” of private banks, Brown Brothers, is exciting. I look forward to the challenge.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I will telephone you early next week to follow up.

Sincerely,
Sayed Rahmatullah Hashemi

Summer Associate Program
Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz
51 West 52nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

April 10, 2008

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a junior at Yale University (class of 2009) who has maintained a long and deep interest in law, the judiciary, and legal affairs. For that reason, I am applying to be a summer associate at your firm.

In my capacity as spokesman for the former government of Afghanistan, I developed a fascination with the inner workings of American jurisprudence.

Many times my colleagues and

I would marvel over such concepts as “privacy” and “free speech” and “no crushing of gays under big boulders” and other such American ideals. In my work for the government, I was tasked with explaining and clarifying the governing philosophy of a classical Islamic leadership; that experience pre-

pared me well to work in your corporate litigation department.

I am an organized and tireless “detail freak”—I occasionally annoy my friends with my attention to such details as Koranic law and justice, and my wife often complains of my 24/7 work ethic when I allow her to speak or look at me directly. That is not to say that I am not well-rounded—I enjoy traditional ethnic outdoor pastimes such as rock-throwing and boulder-rolling—but my work in the nonprofit sector, and my recent experience in the Afghan mili-

tary, gave me a “take no prisoners” attitude (literally!!) that I know will fit well in Wachtell’s famously aggressive litigation practice.

I look forward to hearing from you. I will contact you early next week to follow up and schedule an interview.

Sincerely,
Sayed Rahmatullah Hashemi

Summer Internships
Creative Artists Agency
9830 Wilshire Boulevard
Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212

April 10, 2008

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a junior at Yale, class of ’09, and have long been fascinated by the entertainment industry.

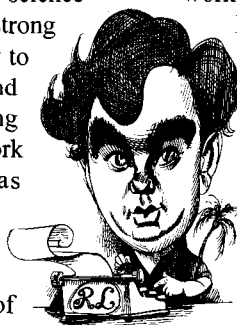
Growing up abroad, Hollywood provided a window into another world: a world of magic and illusion, a world of dreams and possibilities. Films truly are a universal medium, and it’s always been my dream to experience that medium up close.

In my work as media liaison and chief media strategist for the former government of Afghanistan, I was able to see firsthand the power of images, and the impactful nature of filmed entertainment. While in that official capacity, I produced several small “indie”-type features for domestic release—*The Whore Burns Alive* was well received in some of the larger cities; *Mehmet the Homosexual Screams for Mercy That Will Not Be Granted* was shot entirely on DV and edited on my iBook with Final Cut Pro—and the experience was intoxicating (metaphorically).

In addition, my experience working with and for a collection of highly passionate, deeply committed members of the Taliban government prepared me well to work in your talent department representing actors, writers, and directors.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Hash



Writing The War

RICHARD LOWRY

THE Iraq War promises to be the Lewinsky scandal of George W. Bush's presidency: the most interesting event and the occasion for an outpouring of books.

Three new ones are all valuable in their ways. *The Assassins' Gate* by the *New Yorker* writer George Packer was published last year to much acclaim. Packer was a liberal hawk, which sometimes seems to mean someone whose support of the war was contingent on nothing going wrong. His book reflects the conventional State Department/mainstream-media analysis of the administration's mistakes in Iraq (i.e., all the Pentagon's fault), but it has literary flair and affecting on-the-ground reporting.

Cobra II is by *New York Times* reporter Michael R. Gordon and Gen. Bernard E. Trainor, a retired Marine general and military writer. It is an extremely detailed account of the planning for the war and of the invasion itself. The book tilts heavily anti-Rumsfeld, reflecting the view of Army officers who oppose the defense secretary's vision of military transformation and happen to be major sources for Gordon and Trainor. *Cobra II* is not a fun read, but it is an important resource.

No True Glory is Marine veteran and author Bing West's report on the fight for Fallujah. West has astonishingly detailed accounts of battles in and around Fallujah, *Black Hawk Down*-style, bullet-by-bullet narratives. Of the authors of these three books, West is the most sympathetic to our project in Iraq, but his

telescopic approach means he has less to say about the war in general. He vividly reminds us of the saving grace of our intervention in Iraq: the Marines and the soldiers whose valor and smarts so often kept the mission from foundering.

Some of the material covered by these books is tiresome. Can another debate about the number of "boots on the ground" hold anyone's interest? But it is important for conservatives to understand as thoroughly as possible what has happened in Iraq, if for no other reason than to inform themselves for the coming debates over post-Bush foreign policy.

Packer traffics in typically stupid analysis of the neocons. But he picks up on how the riskiness of the Iraq War somehow endeared it to certain hawks. In January 2002, William Kristol and Robert Kagan blamed September 11 partly on "the failure of the United States to take risks." Iraqi dissident Kanan

Makiya said an Iraq war would be worth trying even if it had only a 5 to 10 percent chance of success. (Caution will surely have a new vogue in conservative foreign policy after Iraq.)

Donald Rumsfeld and his commander Tommy Franks learned to love risk as much as the intellectuals. Franks explained that his slimmed-down invasion force wouldn't have the traditional 3:1 ratio

of attackers to defenders, but a 1:6 ratio. How was that possible? "Acceptance of risk," he said. After the invasion, Franks talked the same way, pushing to pull out troops as quickly as possible even if it meant Iraq was unsecured by American forces. "The generals should be prepared to take as much risk departing as they had in their push to Baghdad," Gordon and Trainor write of Franks's view. This would have been a risk too far.

Rumsfeld and Franks were rewarded for the boldness of their invasion plan. Saddam was surprised when the U.S. moved with a much smaller force than in



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NATIONAL REVIEW

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its first war against him, and before it had a launched an extensive air campaign. The sprint to Baghdad allowed the U.S. to grab key bridges before the Iraqis could destroy them, and take the capital city before its defenses were fully prepared. The campaign was a classic exercise in "jointness," the smooth cooperation of all branches of the military.

It was the post-war operation that went wrong. The conventional narrative, largely repeated by Packer, is that the State Department had all the answers, contained in that Rosetta Stone of post-war planning, the "Future of Iraq Project." But the neocons at the Pentagon willfully ignored it.

Gordon and Trainor write a paragraph about the project that should be memorized by anyone writing on post-war planning for *The Atlantic* or *The New York Times Magazine*, two publications that spread the above mythology: "The more than 1,000-page study was the product of seventeen working groups and was of uneven quality. It offered a useful way to bring Iraqi exiles together to discuss the problems of a new Iraq and proposed some good ideas but it was far short of a viable plan."

The administration did plan for the post-war, especially how to react to a humanitarian crisis and how to secure the oil wells that Saddam might torch. But the planning was based on faulty assumptions, and it didn't get the attention it deserved.

A retired Army Special Forces officer told Packer, "What [the post-war phase] became over the years for American military planners was that's when you put everything back in the sea, air, and land containers and ship it back to Fort Stewart, Georgia." Franks exemplified this attitude. "I don't want to get into the business of managing bus schedules," he said. The tough-talking Franks surely thought that was a good line, but since the absence of basic services in Iraq

helped undermine much of what he had accomplished, he shouldn't have been so dismissive.

For his inattention to the post-war phase and his rush to leave his job to land a book contract, history should judge Franks harshly. Rumsfeld shares the blame. While demanding refinement after refinement in Franks's war plan, he didn't bring the same focus to the post-invasion phase, which could have used a big dose of his probing, skeptical intelligence. Especially given that there was, as Gordon and Trainor point out, something of a contradiction at the heart of the strategy: The war plan was dependent on collapsing the Iraqi government, while the post-war plan was dependent on the institutions of the just-collapsed Iraqi government.

The administration figured it didn't need massive numbers of troops occupying Iraq because it could rely on the Iraqi army, the Iraqi police, and foreign troops to

help shoulder the security burden. Wrong on all counts.

Behind most of the big, flawed assumptions lurked the CIA. With no network of operatives on the ground in Baghdad and the south, the CIA got almost everything important wrong. It thought entire Iraqi units would surrender to the U.S., and therefore be available for post-war tasks. It didn't happen. It believed the Iraqi police were well respected and professional, when actually they were corrupt and hated, evaporating after the fall of the regime. Finally, of course, substantial foreign forces never materialized either, because the security situation never stabilized enough.

It was Saddam's paramilitary force, the Fedayeen, that was the nugget of the insurgency. The Fedayeen were designed to quash a revolt by the Shiites, which was always Saddam's greatest fear. But the Fedayeen turned out to be the vanguard of the fight against us. So many weapons were distributed and stashed for them in schools and mosques in the south, some had to be stored in bathrooms. The CIA missed it. Well into the

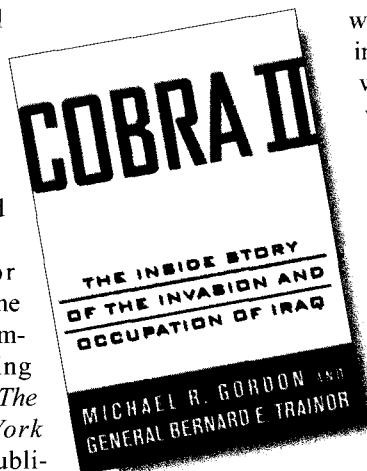
war, we continued to believe that the main threats to our forces were Saddam's WMD and Republican Guard, and that the invasion would often be a matter of accepting surrenders.

The Fedayeen's fanatical resistance was the first sign that we were in for nasty surprises. The next was the looting after Baghdad's fall. The military watched it happen. Marine major general Jim Mattis said, "We didn't come to Iraq to shoot some fellow making off with a rug." Like Franks's comment about bus schedules, it's a nice line, reflecting the attitude of a traditional warrior. But it was self-defeating.

Already, Iraq had been falling apart. The Iraqis had shut down the electrical grid during the war because it experienced power surges, and they couldn't get it back on again. When the Marines secured an oil facility early in the war they thought it had been sabotaged—until Iraqis assured them that the state of disrepair was normal. In an arresting metaphor, Packer says that if Iraq were a used car, Saddam got rid of it at just the right time.

Into this environment stumbled Jay Garner, the retired three-star general who was put in charge of post-war Iraq. He had seven weeks to prepare for his job. A Pentagon official told Packer, "That's what it takes to get a computer connection at the Pentagon." When Garner told people at a dinner just before deploying to Iraq in the spring that the country would have a functioning government by August, someone asked, "Which August?"

Garner was quickly replaced by Paul Bremer, who had all of ten days to prepare. Bremer's approach was to take charge and make decisions, for which he had a talent. It's just that they weren't necessarily the right ones. His sweeping de-Baathification order and decommissioning of the Iraqi military have been widely panned. It is understandable why he made those decisions—they were popular with the Kurds and the Shiites—but they contributed to Sunni disaffection. In retrospect, it would have been worth trying to reconstitute the army in some form. Bing West writes, "Every American battalion commander was being besieged by Iraqi officers offering to come back to work and bring their soldiers with them."



Is it sound policy to jail expectant mothers for substance abuse and take away their babies?



“Many professional health care and child welfare organizations have banded together against criminalization on the basis that it is antithetical to the best interests of both the mother and the child.”

“... criminalization has no proven effect on improving infant health or deterring substance abuse by pregnant women.”

“In fact, criminalization may deter the pregnant woman from seeking out necessary prenatal care for fear of losing their children or being arrested.”

“A drug-exposed infant should be removed from the custody of his/her parent(s) only if the parent(s) are unable to protect and care for the infant and either support services are not sufficient to manage this risk, or the parent(s) have refused such services.”*

**If removal is good policy, shouldn't we also place
infants in foster care if the mother smokes, imbibes or
is obese? We could build orphanages as well as prisons!**

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* *Substance Use During Pregnancy: Time for Policy to Catch Up with Research*, by Barry M. Lester, PhD, Lynne Andreozzi, and Lindsey Appiah, published April 20, 2004. www.harmreductionjournal.com/content/1/1/5

books, arts & manners

The military-training program stumbled badly. According to West, an American official wrote in March 2004, "Ten months into the operation there is not a single properly trained and equipped Iraqi security officer in the entire Al Anbar province." Given that none of the security props that the administration had been depending on materialized—Iraqi troops and cops, foreign troops—more of the burden fell on the United States. But we never added significantly to the initial invasion force.

Packer, Gordon, and Trainor are persuasive when they argue that the U.S. effort was harmed by limited forces. The invasion plan had substituted speed for mass—successfully. But as Gordon and Trainor write, "Mass, not speed, was requisite for sealing the victory." Certainly, if we had it to do over again, we would try the option of sending more forces. But more troops probably wouldn't have been a magic bullet, because just as important as mass in dealing with an insurgency is finesse.

The U.S. would have needed not just more troops, but a different kind of force: more military police, civil-affairs units, interrogators, translators, and special forces. And they would have needed a delicate cultural touch, of the sort it is difficult to have without spending time on the ground. Without that touch, more troops could be counterproductive.

Too often we were clumsy, although shrewd military officers did their best. As Packer writes, "The calibrations had to be finer than even the best prepared units could make, and then each mistake played its part in deepening the ill will and hastening the insurgency." In President Bush's rhetoric, Iraq was held out as a prospective shining city on the hill; on the ground in Iraq, American troops encountered an actual city like . . . Fallujah, a hardscrabble town with nothing to recommend it, bristling with Baathists and Islamic radicals.

The city was immune to American charms. Troops spent days building a soccer field, according to West, only to watch a mob immediately tear down the goalie nets, scrape the dirt from the field, and throw garbage all over it. "What kind of people loot dirt?" a soldier asked.

President Bush always says people desire freedom more than anything else. In Fallujah, teenage boys apparently desired nothing more than to get hyped up by the local imams, grab AK-47s, and jump out in front of U.S. troops firing wildly before they got methodically cut down. For some Iraqis, fighting was a kick. West describes a man with a rocket-propelled grenade standing around with some families, before firing it vaguely in the direction of Americans. He got roundly congratulated by the gathered men, women, and children.

Iraq was much more primitive than advertised. In all the talk about how sophisticated Iraqis were, no one mentioned virginity examinations and how women could be shot by relatives outside a clinic if the result was wrong. In all the talk of how talented and urbanized the population was, there was very little made of the sheikhs and imams, the truly important powerbrokers.

West describes the bewildering Fallujah landscape confronting American commanders, who had to try to figure out which sheikhs had real power and which imams were hostile or not. "Think of the Sopranos," advised one American. Putting aside the tangled American chain of command at the top in Iraq, the widely varying tactics of troops in Fallujah, the absurd stop-and-go decisions, it would have been very hard to get Fallujah "right" without lots of trial and error. In the event, that trial and error eventually led to a massive U.S. assault that destroyed much of the city.

Packer is at his best when he writes about the Iraqis he got to know. He says nearly every Iraqi man, after suffering so much under Saddam, looked at least ten years older than he was. Jordanians just across the border looked much better, even if they were members of the same tribe. He describes a conversation with a man in his fifties who had only one tooth left: "I feel young again. Thanks forever to the Americans and British. You can make us whole human beings again."

That is a lot to ask. Packer quotes

Saddam's aphorism that "Every Iraqi is a Baathist." He finds truth in it—not literally, but in how Saddam's regime twisted the lives of all Iraqis, encouraged their conspiracy-mongering, and poisoned their ethnic relations.

Packer makes Iraqi dissident Kanan Makiya one of the recurring characters in his book. Makiya had a vision of a new liberal Iraq, but it collided with the reality on the ground. The liberal democrats didn't have the guns, nor did they have the organization of the Shiite religious parties. Makiya had been exiled from Iraq for 30 years, and was surprised at what he found upon his return.

During his first journey in Iraq, he had his life threatened over a perceived slight, and wrote in an e-mail to friends, "Every day in the last five weeks of my travels I have come across such damaged and wounded people, people who breathe nationalism, sectarianism, without knowing that they are doing so, and people who are deeply chauvinistic and suspicious toward their fellow Iraqis. These are the facts of life for the next generation in this

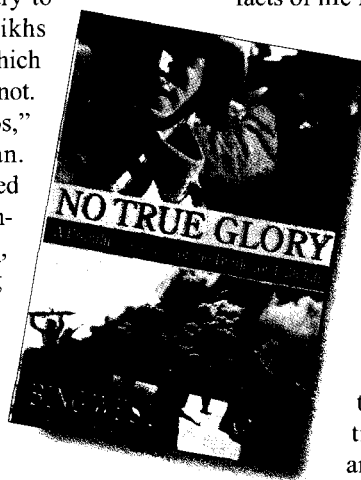
poor, unhappy and ravaged land."

All these books are ultimately unsatisfying because they tell an incomplete story. We don't know how Iraq is going to turn out, even if we can already draw lessons from it. A key one for conservatives should be a renewed appreciation of the importance of culture and institutions—the former is durable and the latter is fragile. The Bush administration had it backward going into Iraq, believing

that Iraqi political culture was easily malleable and that its governing institutions would survive what, in effect, was a war of revolution.

For all that, all is not lost, at least not yet. There are still Iraqis fighting for a better future, despite all the failures and frustrations. A young judge leading the investigation of Saddam Hussein tells Packer, "If I stay at home, and you stay at home, and the other guy stays at home, who will build Iraq? This is a battle, mister. And we're all soldiers in this battle. So there are only two choices—either to win the battle or to die. There's no third choice."

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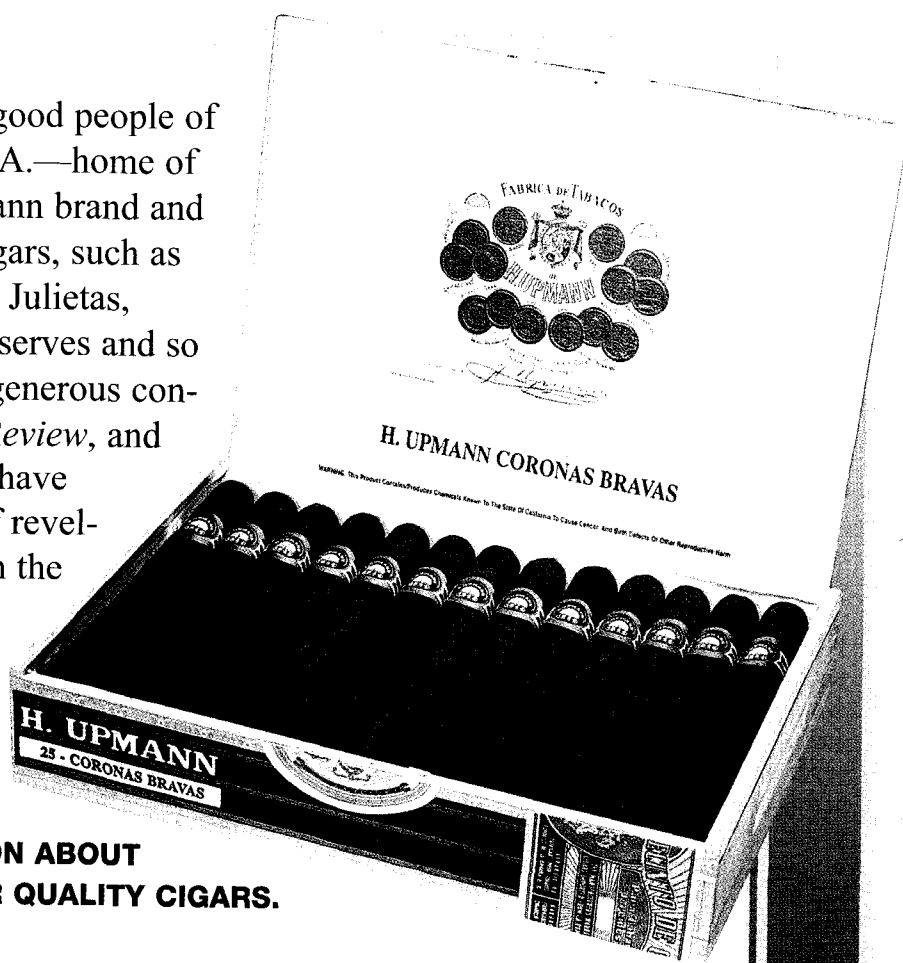
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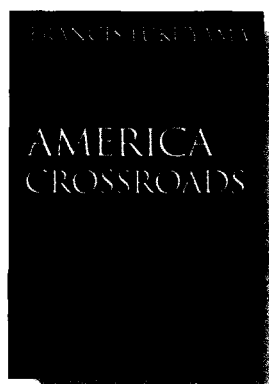
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The Ex-Neo



*America at the Crossroads:
Democracy, Power, and the
Neoconservative Legacy,*
by Francis Fukuyama
(Yale, 240 pp., \$25)

JOHN FONTE

IN the summer of 2004, in a widely debated article in *The National Interest*, Francis Fukuyama—one of America’s foremost political thinkers—publicly broke with the Bush administration and neoconservatism over the Iraq War. Much of the interest in his current book, *America at the Crossroads*, is centered on this controversy. The book’s real significance, however, lies not in a rehash of Fukuyama’s past pronouncements on the Iraq War, but in his prescriptions for the future—the creation of new and extra-constitutional institutions of global governance.

After beginning with a brief overview of his main arguments, Fukuyama reviews the history of neoconservatism: Alcove 1 at CCNY, Trotskyism, liberal anti-Communism, *The Public Interest* and “unintended consequences,” *Commentary* and the Cold War, Leo Strauss and the importance of “regime,” and the influence of nuclear strategist Albert Wohlstetter. Some may quibble that Fukuyama uses the Stalinist word “Trotskyite” instead of “Trotskyist,” or mischaracterizes the

Mr. Fonte is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute.

division between Harry Jaffa (“John Philip Sousa”) Straussians and Allan Bloom (“Wagnerian”) Straussians. But on balance this section is very nicely written: a clear guide for beginners, including mainstream journalists.

Fukuyama also draws nuanced distinctions between the William Kristol/Robert Kagan viewpoint and the more “democratic realist” wing of neoconservatism exemplified by Charles Krauthammer and Jeane Kirkpatrick. He argues that the Kristol/Kagan *Foreign Affairs* article of 1996 that called for a broader democratic interventionism successfully “redefined” neoconservatism and moved it away from the more constrained views of the first generation of neoconservatives, including Kristol *père*.

Fukuyama characterizes four schools of American foreign policy: neoconservative (promotion of democracy, benevolent U.S. hegemony); realist (traditional balance of power); liberal internationalist (“seeks to transcend power politics through international law and institutions”); and nationalist Jacksonian (“narrow security-related view” of American interests). He himself has left the neoconservative camp and is now a “realistic Wilsonian” or “hard-headed” liberal internationalist (seeking “not the transcendence . . . of power politics but its regularization through institutional constraints”).

NATIONAL REVIEW readers might rightly complain that this list of four schools is far from comprehensive. After all, Jon Kyl, John Bolton, Henry Hyde, Newt Gingrich, Norm Coleman, and most Republican members of Congress could best be described as “Reagan internationalists,” part of what Rich Lowry has labeled the “Reagan Synthesis.” This coalition combines a strong baseline Jacksonian nationalism (“Don’t tread on me”) with strands of Wilsonianism (democracy matters), Hamiltonianism (promotion of free trade), and realism (power politics)—to use the classic taxonomy formulated by Walter Russell Mead. Fukuyama appears to have a visceral distaste for the Jacksonian tradition, which

he mischaracterizes as “isolationist”; Mead says it’s the Jeffersonians, not the Jacksonians, who are isolationists and identifies Reagan himself as a Jacksonian figure who successfully combined a number of complementary American traditions.

Since his original “End of History” article in 1989, Fukuyama has gradually moved from Hegelian idealism to a more “Marxian” materialism. He tells us that many have misunderstood his thought concerning the “end of history,” which was an “argument about modernization,” not about ideology—that is to say, it was materialist, not idealist. Perhaps. But Fukuyama is careful to cite in this regard his 1992 book, not his 1989 article, which emphasized “consciousness,” “ideas,” and “ideology” over material factors. In 1989 he wrote: “Have we in fact reached the end of history? . . . If we accept the idealist premises laid out above, we must seek an answer to this question in the realm of ideology and consciousness.”

America at the Crossroads has a long chapter on promoting modernization, democracy, and economic growth in developing countries, in which Fukuyama makes many sensible points that parallel arguments he has made before. He stumbles, however, when he asserts that the U.S. “has become steadily less generous” and claims that the U.S. ranks 21st out of 22 leading developed nations in foreign giving (even when private aid is counted). My Hudson Institute colleague Carol Adelman, a former high-ranking official at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), says this is simply wrong: The U.S. ranks 11th of 22 leading donor countries (counting private aid); government foreign

aid has doubled between 2000 and 2004, and has also increased as a percentage of gross national income.

On the broader geopolitical front, Fukuyama commits a more serious error: He minimizes the global conflict with radical Islam. He tells us that “rhetoric” about the “global war on terror should cease” because “conceiving the larger struggle as a global war . . . vastly over-

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states" the problem. "We are fighting a small group of fanatics," he suggests, "sheltering behind a larger group of sympathizers." ("Before the Iraq war, we were probably at war with no more than a few thousand people . . .")

Moreover, "the most dangerous people are not pious Muslims in the Middle East, but alienated uprooted young people in Hamburg, London, or Amsterdam." The conflict, therefore, is a response to modernization and globalization and "cannot be understood primarily" in terms of religion or culture. Indeed, "the major battlegrounds are as likely to be in Western Europe as in the Middle East." Relying on French theorists Gilles Kepel and Olivier Roy, Fukuyama claims that the political appeal of radical Islam is weak. He also draws a clear distinction between radical Islamists and simply ideological Islamists who seek to establish an Islamic regime through political means and who (in Fukuyama's view) are "not necessarily . . . hostile to democracy."

There is, of course, some truth to Fukuyama's contention that radical Islamist (jihadist) ideology and deracinated Muslim immigrants in Europe are, to some extent, the byproducts of incomplete modernization. Nevertheless, it is too clever by half to suggest that the problem is *primarily* one of a flawed modernization-globalization process rather than a religio-cultural-ideological conflict, and that the terrorist crisis itself is centered mainly in the West (Europe) rather than in the Islamic world and the Middle East. The Western outposts of radical Islam are just that: outposts. The money (mostly Saudi), propagandists (imams), ideological indoctrination, terrorist/military training (sometimes Iranian), logistics, and psychological-religious support come from religious Muslims (self-described, whether "authentic" or not) in the Middle East. Hamas, Hezbollah, and the madrassas emanate from the Middle East. The majority of al-Qaeda adherents are Middle Eastern in origin and consider themselves "pious." The Danish cartoon controversy was activated not in Europe, but in the Middle East.

Remember, eleven Muslim ambassadors from Islamic countries (including, significantly, Turkey) demanded that the Danish prime minister curb press freedom within Denmark. Fukuyama is too sanguine about the "democratic" aspects

of Islamist (but non-jihadist) ideology. Islamists (whether violent or non-violent) seek to establish sharia (Islamic law) as the basis for government. Even a non-violent Islamist regime would be an illiberal one, rejecting both freedom of religion for non-Muslim believers and freedom for the non-religious. Thus, a "democratic" Islamist regime means an "illiberal democracy," in the Fareed Zakaria sense.

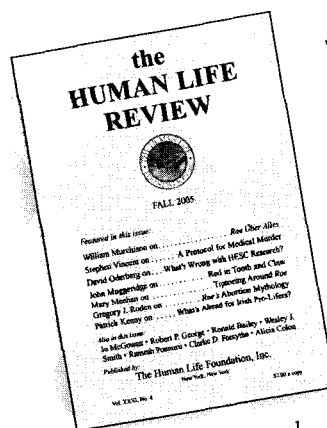
Although almost all eyes are focused on Fukuyama's break with the Bush administration and neoconservative thinking, the truly revolutionary part of the book is his embrace, however hesitant, of an extra-constitutional transnationalism. To be sure, all of this is done with often contradictory "on one hand, on the other hand" qualifiers, and further obfuscated by the language of social science.

Fukuyama calls for an "agenda of multiple-multilateralisms." He tells us that, as "realistic Wilsonians, . . . we do not want to replace national sovereignty with unaccountable international organizations" like the U.N. "On the other hand,

we do not now have an adequate set of horizontal mechanisms of accountability between the vertical stovepipes we label states."

"Horizontal accountability" would presumably mean some transnational mechanism that would make, for example, the American nation-state and the Canadian or French nation-state democratically accountable to each other. "Horizontal accountability" between states is needed, Fukuyama says, first because it would facilitate globalization, and second because "few [nations] trust the United States" to be "sufficiently benevolent" without "the subjection of American power to more formal constraints."

If Fukuyama were merely saying that Americans should, as a matter of prudential statesmanship, attempt to secure the support of major democratic allies before acting in important international crises, that would be fine. But he is hinting at something else: He is suggesting that new transnational organizations not accountable to American democratic institutions should make decisions concerning American foreign policy. How else to



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explain the following: "Although international cooperation will have to be based on sovereign states for the foreseeable future, shared ideas of legitimacy and human rights will weaken objections that the United States should not be accountable to regimes that are not themselves accountable."

Why would Americans want to be accountable to the unaccountable? Because, Fukuyama says, Americans believe that if "unchecked power is corrupting in a domestic context," the same holds true internationally. But, of course, the "checks and balances" of the U.S. Constitution already apply to both domestic and foreign affairs and are within the context of our accountable democratic system. What Fukuyama is suggesting is extra-constitutional: some new transnational mechanism of "checks and balances" outside of American constitutional democracy and genuine democratic accountability. Francis Fukuyama, one of our leading democratic theorists, may want to reconsider this flirtation with post-democratic thinking.

NR

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

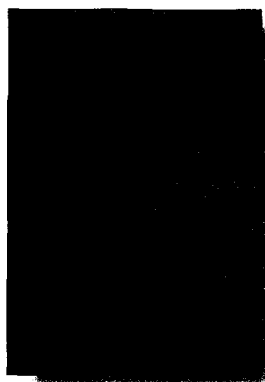
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Permanent Revolution



John Dewey & the Decline of American Education: How the Patron Saint of Schools Has Corrupted Teaching and Learning, by Henry T. Edmondson III (ISI, 147 pp., \$15)

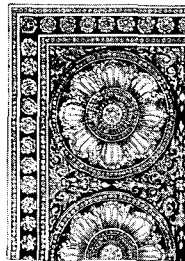
M. D. AESCHLIMAN

THE 19th-century common-school movement, which we rightly associate with Horace Mann (1796–1859), was a logical, organic outgrowth of the educational thinking and political institutions of the American Founders, especially Jefferson and Franklin. But, as historians and education-policy specialists such as Charles Glenn and E. D. Hirsch have suggested, this commonsense legacy was subsequently mixed with ambiguous, Romantic-utopian, even messianic ideas that reached critical mass in the "Progressive" movement of the 1920s and 1930s whose animating spirit was John Dewey.

Yet even Horace Mann was affected by these Romantic ideas. As Glenn has noted, Mann "promised that, given a

generation of schooling such as he prescribed, it would be possible to close down the prisons." Such anti-traditional, utopian expectations—which Gouverneur Morris had ridiculed in 1790 as French "lightning" as opposed to sober American "light"—had little consequence in the 19th and early 20th centuries on so decentralized an education system as ours. But the advocacy of Romantic, naturalistic, and pantheistic religious-philosophical ideas by alluring writers of great influence such as Rousseau, Emerson, and Whitman created ideals and expectations that were to find their most influential educational proponent by the 1890s in John Dewey. Eschewing our existing institutions and what he called the "idolatry of the U.S. Constitution," Dewey promoted a futuristic, socialistic idea of "the Great Community," whose "seer" for him was the polymorphous, promiscuous, egalitarian egotist-aesthete Walt Whitman, who sang both of himself and of future "democratic vistas." Democracy, Dewey wrote, "is a name for a life of free and enriching communion," and this mystical-pantheistic idea had its institutional vehicle in the "child-centered" school. As Glenn, Richard Hofstadter, and others, including admirers of Dewey, have noted, Dewey actually had no trust in or loyalty to existing democratic institutions that affected schools, such as school boards or elections of public officials. And as his complimentary 1928 comments on what he saw in Communist Russia indicate, he had no commitment to the rights or virtues of traditional families either.

The American Founders, and several generations of their sensible successors responsible for an eventually free but mandatory public-education system, emphasized the fundamental importance of providing equal access at least at a minimum level for all children to traditional curricular components—literacy, numeracy, science, geography, and history, the funded wisdom of many centuries of human endeavor that was now made available in books. But under the influence of Romantic primitivists such as Rousseau, Emerson, and Whitman, the historical fund of knowledge and skill made available in books to those who were literate



Mr. Aeschliman is professor of education at Boston University, adjunct professor of English at the University of Italian Switzerland, and author of *The Restitution of Man: C. S. Lewis and the Case Against Scientism*.

was increasingly held in contempt. "I hate books!" Rousseau expostulates in the middle of his interminably long, boring, sophisticated, but immensely influential education-theory book *Emile* (1762). And the writers Emerson and Whitman evince the same counterintuitive contempt for their own métier, in the interests of an ill-defined but pantheistic conception of "nature." Dewey was thus building on a budding barbarian impulse, impatient and contemptuous of the study and transmission of accumulated history and literate traditions that had been central to the classical-Christian and moderate-Enlightenment traditions of the Founding Fathers and their immediate successors down to Lincoln.

Quentin Anderson has described Dewey's resulting "child-centered," primitivist "conception of the school" as "the most extravagant and nationally influential of his fantasies." This school is a present-oriented, limited-literacy, "experiential" tool for the "reconstruction of society." As close, critical observers such as W. C. Bagley, Arthur Bestor, and Glenn have asked, when did Dewey or his disciples ever consult parents or elected officials to ask whether they thought that their children and future citizens should be dragooned into this utopian project? And, as Diane Ravitch and E. D. Hirsch have noted, the 80-year dominance of Dewey's "Progressive" ideas—almost indelibly institutionalized in the world of teachers' colleges, teachers' unions, and certification procedures—has been a gross failure in terms of the educational levels and competences of our public-school graduates. "Standards-based" education reforms at the state level and the bipartisan No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, whatever their defects or difficulties, are well-warranted responses by parents, citizens, and legislators to generations of scholastic decline that have left many of our children and young adults not only functionally incompetent and quasi-illiterate but also vulnerable to an unprecedented tide of polluted cultural effluvia. The "child-centered school" has helped give birth to an infantile

The 'child-centered school' has helped give birth to an infantile culture—one that threatens the American republic in important ways.

tile culture—one that threatens the very capacity of the American republic to retain and convey its economic accomplishments, social decencies, and civic self-understanding.

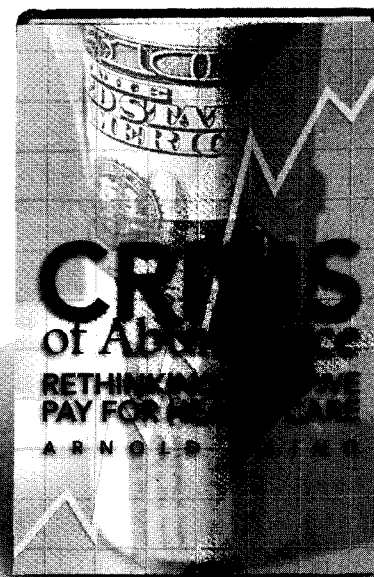
Like many thoughtful and liberally educated critics of Dewey, Henry Edmondson is puzzled and depressed at how widespread and long-lasting his influence has proved to be, given the turgid, confusing quality of both his thought and his prose, his logic and his rhetoric. Even admirers of Dewey have conceded the opacity or obscurity of his literary style: Both William Heard Kilpatrick and Sidney Hook started their own academic careers by trying to communicate Dewey's thought to others, recognizing how badly he needed such help. (The experience of having to read large quantities of his prose has been compared to sawing wide logs with a dull saw and to taking a slow subway train to hell.)

Edmondson's critique of Dewey is useful, clear, and brief. He rightly sees Rousseau's primitivism as a major influence, and he rightly distinguishes Dewey from Jefferson, whose reputation and lineage Dewey was eager to claim as his own. Like E. D. Hirsch, but at more length, Edmondson is eager to show how decisively Dewey departs and differs from the heritage of Jefferson and the other Founders on the questions of the centrality of literacy and history in the American K-12 curriculum: Dewey and his disciples and allies promoted "hands-on" experience and "social studies" as against literacy and the study of history.

In addition, Dewey's promotion of what he called "social experimentation leading to great social change" was a working out of Whitman's social, psychological, and sexual radicalism and egalitarianism. Dewey decently defended Trotsky against the Stalinists in the late 1930s—perhaps his finest hour—but his own version of the need for "permanent revolution" has had more long-lasting and insidious effects than Trotsky's, creating a climate and expectation for novelty, change, and experimentation in

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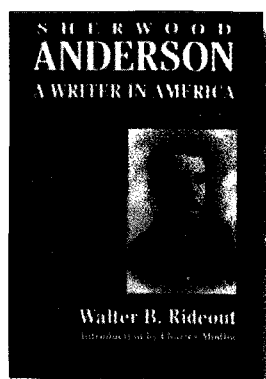
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American public education—uncritical “neophilia” and what Frederick Hess has called bogus “policy churn.” Dewey slandered a wide range of more conservative or traditionalist education-policy thinkers and critics as “fundamentalists” obsessed with a fruitless, retrograde “quest for certainty” (the title of his 1929 book). In this regard he is the father—as that agile nihilist Richard Rorty has seen—of our contemporary “post-modern” deconstructionists, with their attacks on “foundationalism” and “logocentrism.” But some of the most powerful and enduring criticism of the whole “Progressive” movement of which Dewey is the patron saint came early from thoughtful liberal-traditionalist Columbia Teachers College professors such as W. C. Bagley and Isaac L. Kandel. Kandel protested the illogical riot of Whitmanian “experimentation” in what Diane Ravitch calls his “classic” study, *The Cult of Uncertainty* (1943). A Jewish immigrant writing in a dark time, Kandel knew that Dewey’s influential denial of history, traditional learning, and moral common sense in teacher training and the schools was a new form of barbarism. We are living with its consequences. **NR**

Quest for Community



*Sherwood Anderson:
A Writer in America, Volume 1,*
by Walter B. Rideout
(Wisconsin, 852 pp., \$60)

JAMES E. PERSON JR.

‘**L**IKE all real American men of our day I wander constantly from place to place striving to put down roots into the American soil and not quite doing it,”

wrote Sherwood Anderson in his memoir *A Story Teller's Story*, over 80 years ago. The often-thwarted desire to put down roots—in a particular place or into a firm sense of understanding life—along with the failure to maintain lifelong friendships within longstanding communities is to some extent the story of modern American life itself; hence the subtitle, “A Writer in America,” to Walter B. Rideout’s long-awaited biography of Anderson.

This is an ambitious and rigorously researched work, which has been some 45 years in the writing. Rideout, professor emeritus of English at the University of Wisconsin, has provided what amounts to a month-by-month recounting of his subject’s life. Owing to the exhaustive detail the biographer provides, and the eloquence of his prose, the book succeeds as the definitive biography of Anderson; it will be the touchstone of all future Anderson scholarship. This first volume covers Anderson’s ancestry and early years through his long stint as an advertising copywriter and independent businessman, to his period of highest achievement as a writer of fiction, and on to age 50, a point at which most of his important work was behind him.

Anderson (1876–1941) is best known as the author of the bittersweet *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), a collection of thematically connected short stories that form a narrative of village life in gaslight America, and is a staple of high-school English programs. He wrote much else besides, including a clutch of masterful short stories (“I Want to Know Why,” “A Meeting South,” “The Man Who Became a Woman,” “Death in the Woods,” and “I’m a Fool,” among others), and several novels, perhaps the best of these being *Poor White* (1920) and *Dark Laughter* (1925). Much of his fiction reflects life in the small-town Midwest as that region changed with the coming of the industrial age and mass production.

A native of small-town Ohio, Anderson was the son of a ne’er-do-well, yarn-spinning Civil War veteran and a long-sacrificing mother who, he claimed, taught him “to see beneath the surface of lives.” Rideout depicts him as an individual

NIGHT

The poppies fold their petals when night comes.
I have seen it happen. I am jealous.
I have been trying to close up all night long.

I feel like a service station, somewhere in Kansas,
open all night, where some deluded bastard
thinks he is going to improve himself
by reading the encyclopedia through.

Three blocks away, you are sleeping with someone else.
This peace is not experienced as peaceful.

It is dark. It is beginning to rain.

—MICHAEL CREAGAN

Mr. Person is the author of *Russell Kirk: A Critical Biography of a Conservative Mind* and *Earl Hamner: From Walton's Mountain to Tomorrow*.

troubled by the effects of industrialism and urbanization upon man and culture, who carried within him the memory of stories told by men and women who remembered fondly the agrarian past. But the biographer also stresses that Anderson was far from being merely a regionalist or simply nostalgic: By his simple style, his emphasis upon incident and insight into character (rather than the conventions of plot), and his examination of the themes of spiritual lostness and sexual yearning, he exercised a profound effect upon 20th-century American literature in general. Hemingway, Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, Ray Bradbury, Earl Hamner, and a host of others owe an unmistakable debt to Anderson. The essence of that influence can be found in words he wrote two years before *Winesburg* appeared: "As I walk alone, an old truth comes home to me and I know that we shall never have an American literature until we return to faith in ourselves and to the facing of our own limitations. We must, in some way, become in ourselves more like our fellows, more simple and real."

Anderson was thus one of the progenitors of modernist realism in American literature. Rideout notes the influence of James Joyce and Gertrude Stein on Anderson, and points out that "with him realism was a means to something else, not an end in itself. . . . What is important is 'to see beneath the surface of lives,' to perceive the intricate mesh of impulses, desires, drives growing down in the dark, unrevealed parts of the personality, like the complex mass of roots that, below the surface of the ground, feeds the common grass above in the light."

Beneath the surface of lives, Anderson found much emptiness and confusion, along with the dual belief—which he ascribed to Puritanism—that sexuality is shameful and that the sum of a person's possessions is a sure indicator of his human worth. He once wrote: "In spite of all our mechanical progress in America, our swift easy-going from place to place, we Americans are essentially a lonely people." He spoke of the cultural rootlessness brought about by the new, fast-paced business world, with its contempt for craftsmanship and disdain for permanence and imagination. No longer possessing the certainties of the past, Americans of the late 19th and early 20th centuries had been taken from a slow-paced, largely agricultural past of

rootedness within established communities of faith and friendship, and thrust into a bustling world of appearance over substance, where the cash nexus had been elevated to the highest value of human existence.

In the world as Anderson saw it, men and women had been rendered grotesque by the secret loneliness of their lives: Lacking both fellowship with each other and a sense of the transcendent, they groped for understanding and love, feeling that something vital had been lost. In a sense Anderson was the Midwest's answer to Henry Adams, whose *Education of Henry Adams* (1918) fascinated him. Rideout notes that although differing in background "both men nevertheless record attempts to understand an American culture and civilization in which they have not been adequately prepared to live, with major elements of which they are profoundly unsympathetic, within which they seek to find both work that fully expresses the self and an inner order that effectually defends the self against outer chaos."

Rideout portrays Anderson as a fascinating, complex man, forever taking a backward glance toward the pre-industrial American Republic of his youth while looking forward hopefully toward a recovery of the past's better aspects. Anderson had many contradictions: Admirable for his generosity and the premium he put on friendship, he could also be vain and ungrateful. He was at once a hail-fellow-well-met friend of the common man and an individual who saw himself as above the common herd, something of an artiste and thus outside America's cultural mores, notably marriage. (As at least three of his four wives discovered in time, the man of genius—real or self-imagined—is in far more need of a mother than a wife.)

Sylvia Beach, of the renowned Shakespeare and Company bookstore in Paris, met Anderson in the 1920s and found him "a mixture of poet and evangelist (without the preaching), with perhaps a touch of the actor. Anyhow . . . a most interesting man." The "touch of the actor" was a skill learned during his many years as an advertising representative, when it was essential to

maintain a certain benign façade, keeping his true thoughts cloaked. Thus Anderson was able to maintain cordial relations with fellow Midwesterner Sinclair Lewis, although his letters to friends indicate Anderson's intense jealousy of the success enjoyed by the author of *Main Street*. Likewise, Anderson sought to have his short stories published in the magazines *The Smart Set* and *The American Mercury*, edited by H. L. Mencken, and he enjoyed Mencken's reviews praising his books; but he privately considered the Sage of Baltimore "a rather naive stupid man after all. One can't take him really seriously."

In these and thousands of other telling details, Rideout's book is a treasure trove of information on Anderson. A few minor oversights have slipped through; for ex-

ample, in two places the title of one of Anderson's best-known *Winesburg* stories, "The Untold Lie," is given as "The Untold Life." But for the most part, Rideout displays a truly astonishing command of every detail surrounding Anderson and his milieu, including his influence on other writers who are today better known.

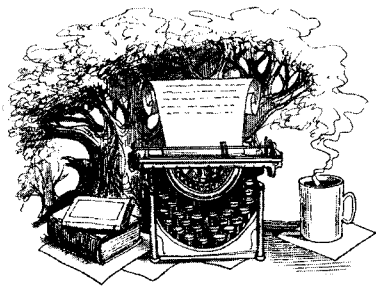
In some cases, Anderson's counsel to and influence upon the rising generation of writers were received gratefully; in other cases less so. Hemingway ruthlessly mocked

Anderson in his parody *The Torrents of Spring* (1926). Faulkner gently satirized Anderson as the garrulous storyteller Dawson Fairchild in his own early novel, *Mosquitoes* (1927). Both Hemingway and Faulkner later regretted needling Anderson in these novels, perceiving that their works had been taken by him not as the exercises in all-in-good-fun literary roughhousing they had intended, but as betrayals of friendship.

A few years before he died, Faulkner looked back on Anderson with respect, telling an interviewer for *The Paris Review*, "He was the father of my generation of American writers and the tradition of American writing which our successors will carry on. He has never received his proper evaluation." The appearance of *Sherwood Anderson: A Writer in America* indicates that at long last Anderson's proper evaluation has arrived. **NR**

**In the world
as Anderson
saw it, men
and women
had been
rendered
grotesque by
the secret
loneliness of
their lives.**

Catalogue Aria



RICHARD BROOKHISER

SPRING has come to the country, and with it the Gempler's catalogue. You didn't get yours? Check your loading dock. Their slogan is, "Handpicked, Commercial-Grade Supplies Direct to Your Dock or Doorstep." All I have is a 900-square-foot house on 22 acres, mostly trees, but paging through Gempler's I feel solidarity with contractors, farmers, and men who make the outdoor world go round.

I can't claim detailed knowledge of the catalogue and all its offerings. The front cover promotes rust converter, waterproof work boots, and 4-mil nitrile gloves; the back cover offers a mole killer (complete with a picture of a little brown fellow enjoying his fatal meal). In between are 562 pages of stuff. Some pages—industrial-grade hip waders—show only a few items; others—ATV tires—list dozens. When you add it all up, it's a lot of items. Whitman liked to stuff his poems with expansive, all-seeing lists. Next to the Gempler's catalogue, he is inattentive and shy.

You learn about problems you never knew you had. "How many ag wheels with oblong bolt holes or cracked center discs have you thrown away?" What's the solution? "Dismount tire from wheel, straighten out old broken center, put broken wheels on hub, put ring on and tighten down, check to see if wheel runs true, then tack-weld the reinforcing ring to the wheel." Next! "Know wind speed and direction before applying chemicals." Now that you mention it, sounds like a

good idea. "This marker"—an "all-terrain marker designed for the outdoor professional"—"was specifically developed for ironworkers who demanded a marker that could write through just about anything." I know some indoor professionals—e.g., editors—who could also use such a tool.

Basic tools generate families of implements, siblings and cousins distinguished by barrages of nouns, the inanimate equivalent of names. Load binder, tie down, anchor point, ball bungee, tarp strap, D-ring, log jack, cant hook, skidding tong, saw wedge, hort knife, draw hoe, half-moon edger, limb lopper. I think I am with George Orwell in the land of Anglo-honesty and downbeat bluntness, until I come to the devices that make "high accuracy portable pH, EC, TDS and temperature measurements." Whether simple or scientific, the catalogue speaks the language of tasks, plain to those who do them, opaque to the idle.

These tasks are often dangerous. The Department of Transportation has designed warning placards. "Poison" bears the traditional skull and crossbones. "Flammable," "Combustible," "Diesel," and "Oxygen" show bursts of flame. "Corrosive," the most imaginative, shows two test tubes sprinkling drops on a generic object, and an outstretched (not for long) hand. The private sector has created specialty flagging tapes: "Spot Fire," "Timber Harvest Boundary," "Killer Tree" (another skull and bones). There are pages of gloves, belts, hats, and fall-protection kits ("whether you're working from a bucket truck, scissors lift or other suspended work area"). We wingers laugh at over-regulation, but as Adam Walinsky once said, if lawyers died on the job, there would be a howl over worker safety. Pleasure is consulted as well as security. Someone makes a polyethylene cowboy-style hard hat, whose brim "provides excellent UV and rain protection." Someone else makes AM/FM ear muffs that "protect your hearing while you listen to your favorite radio station." Now I've become safety conscious myself: Will the guy on the backhoe ignore a shout because he's tuned in to Imus?

Sorry to break the news to my friends, but the world of outdoor work is not crunchy. Your organic greens may taste good, but you won't be growing them with the help of the deluxe 300-gallon skid sprayer ("comes with both high- and low-

pressure handguns"). The backpack sprayer, the trombone sprayer, and the polypropylene chemical measuring container probably also won't find favor on the commune. Face it, we weren't crunchy when we got off the *Mayflower*. Our ancestors clear-cut the east coast to feed their families; the only reason all the trees have grown back is there is better soil elsewhere.

The catalogue is full of illustrations—workers (all men) standing, walking, shoveling, digging, gripping, hauling. They model tools and clothes (38 pages of footwear alone). If you tweaked these images just a little, or a lot, they could go in a *New York Times* fashion supplement and fill the daydreams of gay men and lesbians until the next catalogue comes out. The ordinary urban desk jockey (me) gets an imaginative buzz from glimpses of labor that he feels is somehow more virtuous than his own. But why should I feel such a foolish thing? What is not virtuous about thinking, telling the truth, creating beauty? (They happen so rarely that they are virtuous indeed.) What hold do these hand and muscle jobs, despite all their wheels and gears, have over us?

The traditional defense of outdoor work is that it puts you in touch with nature and its cycles and gods. A somewhat later defense is that outdoor work makes you independent. In Homer the independent man is not the farmer or laborer but the killer aristocrat. Over time, though, as aristocrats cast about for allies, they built up the yeoman farmer. Little remains of these justifications in the Gempler's catalogue. All the jobs shown here rely on sophisticated technology; the "dual pH and water moisture probe simplifies fertilization and liming decisions." They are also regulated in myriad ways. Besides the DOT and OSHA, these guys answer to bosses and customers; the ag sector applies for subsidies.

If outdoor work doesn't leave you alone with the dryads, it does offer one increasingly rare gratification: doing the discrete, evident task. You're taking down a tree, or putting up a fence: Either it comes down, or it stays up. You kill your pests, or they eat your crop. The old wheel rim was bent; the new one isn't. You know what you have done, without relying entirely on the opinion of others.

This must be why everyone always fights with his contractor. Their screw-ups are obvious.

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Bishops and The Laws

NEW YORK, MARCH 17

THERE is an unseemly fight brewing between the Catholic Church in America and the U.S. government. A searing division is underway centering on immigration policy. There are 11 million people residing in the United States illegally. For years a Mexican who wished to live and work in the U.S. had only the problem of getting himself across the border. The rules have got stiffer, and to do it now requires a little ingenuity and exertion, and you might even have to hide in a truck full of oranges for an overnight ride into Arizona. But even if, beginning at midnight, not a single extra soul got into the United States illegally from Mexico (the primary human exporter), you have the question of what to do with those who are already here.

It is a challenge that hits us at several levels. The first of course is economic. That problem has been providing for its own amelioration. American productive centers, big and small, opened up their doors discreetly to labor needed to accomplish missions the U.S. labor pool didn't want to take on—for instance, agricultural work. And aliens seeking work agreed to reduced wages, making themselves economically attractive.

But a second element of the problem took shape. The illegals settled down, which meant creating family life, often bringing in family members from their native lands. Then came the problem of accommodating the illegals outside the workplace. Obviously their children had to be educated, and their health to be cared for. One-sixth of those who work in the state of Texas are illegals. Translate that figure into corresponding impositions on welfare, and examine concomitant pressures of a political character.

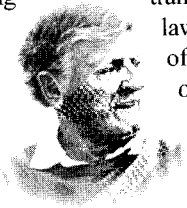
The situation has come to a boil.

Immigration policy is the top concern of candidates running for office in border states. In December, the House of Representatives passed a tough bill designed to tighten the border. It calls for criminal penalties for Americans who collude with the illegal enterprise. A response came from the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. This body assails aspects of the bill as excessively punitive and lobbies for a tenderer bill from the Senate, but it is not yet clear just what sort of provisions the Conference would endorse.

Meanwhile the nation has heard from Roger Mahony, who is the cardinal of Los Angeles. Cardinal Mahony has taken the extraordinary step of enjoining his flock simply to defy any congressional act that incorporates the features of the House bill—on the grounds that to comply would be to collaborate with injustice.

Now the good cardinal, whose motives we must as a matter of Christian forbearance accept as humanitarian, has got to be sharply rebuked by the Conference of Bishops. Begin with the basic question: The writing of the law is a democratic exercise. To call for disobedience to the law is acceptable behavior when such law transgresses upon the city of God. The laws that called for the annihilation of the Jewish race violated the city of God. Proposed laws that would punish citizens who deliberately help to defeat or to circumvent immigration laws aren't inherently defiant of the prerogatives of a democratic community. Cardinal Mahony's contumacy has to be rejected for what it is, never mind what the Senate ends up doing in the matter of formulating fresh rules to enforce policies which have not been enforced.

President Bush endorsed the House bill and asks the Senate to act on it. He hardly understands himself to be rejecting the canon of Christian behavior towards our fellow men by making the point that free and independent societies have the right to prescribe immigration codes, and need especially to reject such distortions of Christian dogma and practice as invite the wrong kind of attention to appropriate divisions between church and state.



Funding Democracy

NEW YORK, MARCH 24

OUR democratic society trips along and we become accustomed to practices which, if viewed for the first time, would strike us as extraordinary; maybe infamous. Like the hardening correlation in politics between money and success. A recent enactment of this is: Hillary vs. Gore.

Here is how it goes. Mrs. Clinton has amassed a great deal of money ostensibly to finance her race for reelection in New York State. She holds the Senate seat once held by my brother, best remembered as "the sainted junior senator from New York." In early spring of 1976, facing a reelection contest in November, he had about \$200,000 in financial commitments. Hillary has \$17.1 million. Normal people ask, Why on earth does she need that much money to fight a reelection campaign in New York? She is 1) the incumbent, 2) hugely well known, 3) facing an opponent—identity as yet unknown—who will be mostly a stage-hand of the two-party system—somebody has to run on the Republican ticket to oppose the incumbent.

Well of course the money is being amassed with something entirely different in mind. Mrs. Clinton wants to run for president in 2008. That is a costly enterprise. Political savant Robert Novak summarizes, "Her current fund-raising tour is aimed at bringing in an additional \$40 million."

The final objective is to achieve the presidency. The immediate objective is to achieve the nomination, and this requires beating other contenders, most prominent among them Sen. John Kerry and former vice president Al Gore. Backers of Mr. Gore are saying that he can raise more money even than Mrs. Clinton. Gore is, in one sense, the senior figure, as the Democrat who last held senior office, and no doubt he will draw on establishment Democratic donors to put together a fighting fund.

Donors would seem to have been responding generously to the Hillary campaign, but there are complaints from loyalists. If you spent the night in the White House in the Lincoln Bedroom

when Bill Clinton was president, what do you owe to Mrs. Clinton when she runs for president? When Bill was still president and Hillary entered politics, 40 percent of sleepovers in the White House contributed to her campaign. But only 20 percent of the sleepovers have contributed to Hillary's current campaign. On this disparity University of Virginia political scholar Larry Sabato has commented. "FOBs," he informs us—Friends of Bill—"are not necessarily FOHs." He adds, "Think of the two of them—who's the one who collects friends? Bill."

One needs almost a transfusion of orthodoxy to ask what would seem the obvious question, for fear of being cast aside as an incurable naïf. Still, let's ask it: Why do people finance campaigns so heavily? Some people will subscribe money to any conspicuous Democrat running for high office, and indeed for complementary Republicans. Why did Chevy Chase donate \$4,200 to Hillary? The gift was noticed in the *New York Post*, which ran a list of top contributors. "The biggest giver was Chevy Chase, the coolest man in the city for a brief period in guess-which-decade," a reporter commented. Chevy Chase does not expect to be named ambassador to the Czech Republic—he is just paying dues as a member of the Democratic tribe.

But what of the big-time gifts in soft money? George Soros has become a historic figure in American politics by passing out \$24 million toward the election of John Kerry. Perhaps just as \$4,200 from Chevy Chase tells us not very much, \$24 million from an eccentric billionaire tells us not very much. But \$40 million in anticipatory funding of a campaign raises questions of democratic principle. Are we supposed to resign ourselves that the next Democratic candidate for president will be Gore or Hillary, depending on which of the two raises more money? And what are the donors tacitly expecting, in return for their contributions?

A few years ago we attempted financial reform, and more or less gave up, on the grounds that reform was inconsistent with individual liberties. Chevy Chase could be held down to \$4,200, but George Soros, observing one or two traffic lights, can't be held down at all. It all conduces to a queasy suspicion that the democratic ideal is up for sale.

Islamic Purity

NEW YORK, MARCH 28

THE STATE DEPARTMENT has had a profound question to ask itself in the matter of Abdul Rahman. Did we intend to make a theatrical point—that we would not stand by in his condemnation and beheading, an arrant interference with the right of a human being to embrace Christianity? Or would we just settle for saving Rahman's life? Attempts at this were made by Rahman's lawyers, principally by asserting that he was off his rocker, and therefore not responsible for his conversion to Christianity. That line helped delay the trial, but did not convince the hardliners.

One Afghan cleric late last week said that the only way Rahman could escape death would be by fleeing the country. This appears, at this writing, to be the most hopeful scenario. However, some Muslim theologians take the position that to permit Rahman to leave the country would be to forsake duty, which is to kill him for apostasy. Spiriting him out of the country might not be easy to effect, but the United States must be assumed to be able to bring about the rescue of a single Afghan citizen.

Collaterally, the State Department could publicize dissenting Islamic views on the subject of apostasy. Interventionists have pointed out that the Koran does not require the execution of apostates, and it is not recorded that Muhammad himself ever exacted such punishment. Moreover, the Koran holds that there should not be compulsion in the matter of religion.

So then a dissenting view of Muslim law could be invoked, but this would not necessarily succeed: There is no authority in Islam to which an appeal for definitive doctrinal judgments can be made. Nor can the Islamist enforcers on the scene be dismissed as predisposed to authoritarian rule. The cleric Abdul Raouf was jailed three times for opposing the Taliban, yet his position on Rahman is, "Rejecting Islam is insulting God. We will not allow God to be humiliated. This man must die."

Authority in Afghanistan is exercised at two levels. The first, of course, is by

the formal government of Afghanistan. Its president, Hamid Karzai, is friendly to the United States—as one would expect, in recognition of our having gone to war to rid his country of Taliban rule. Karzai is friendly but not plenipotentiary. The government of Afghanistan is theocratic: The shariah is the law of the land.

Undersecretary of state for political affairs Nicholas Burns did not earn a medal of freedom for his public statement in the matter, but he was formally correct in saying, "This is a case that is not under the competence of the United States. It is under the competence of the Afghan authorities."

That's right. And the hell with Afghan supremacy. If an occupying military force whose presence every day continues to be critical to keep Afghanistan free cannot protect one citizen who embraces the faith of our fathers, then the government of Afghanistan should pause for a moment to worry not about the indignation of the Afghan people if Rahman is kept safe. Thought should be given to the indignation of the American people, who will stare in disbelief at the phenomenon of a country recently liberated by the expenditure of American lives and money failing to protect from the wrath of the mob a 41-year-old citizen whose crime was having chosen Christ.

It is a tough challenge. It is tempting to say: Get this guy out of Afghanistan and put him away somewhere and let's move on. But the bureaucratic escape does not reflect the passions of the leaders of the world. Australia's prime minister wants the Afghan government to renounce the thought of executing someone for exercising religious liberty. So do prominent leaders in Germany, Britain, and Italy. The Afghan court sidestepped the main issue by releasing Rahman on a technicality. If it arises again, the challenge for the U.S. will be to devise a means of saying to the Afghan government: You cannot do this. Not while we're around.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"Don't worry about it—what happens in preschool stays in preschool."

happy warrior

MARK STEYN

The Anything They Believe In

Two days before Christmas, I was in a store in Vermont buying a last-minute gift when the owner's twentysomething daughter walked in. "Thanks for the sweater, mom," she said. "Kevin really liked his present, too."

"But it's only the 23rd," said the bewildered lady.

"Mom," sighed the kid, wearily. "How many times do I have to tell you? We always open our presents on the solstice."

A couple of weeks later, a neighbor of mine in New Hampshire got married. He's a biker and a tattooist, and he's deeply spiritual. So he and his bride were married in the middle of a field in a service filled with imprecations to Odin, Thor, and sundry other Norse gods. The congregation of bikers rolled their eyes, which may or may not be a traditional Norse mark of respect.

G. K. Chesterton made a famous observation that when men cease to believe in God they'll believe in anything. But the anything they'll believe in is at least in part environmentally determined. Alice Thomson of the *Daily Telegraph* in London was recently granted an interview with the Dalai Lama at Dharamsala, the old British hill station in northern India where he lives in exile. En route to his pad, she encountered both a native Tibetan bearing the brutal marks of Chinese torture and, at one of the luxury hotels that have sprung up for moneyed pilgrims, a "rotund Austrian biscuit heir-ess" who turned to Buddhism after her stomach staple failed to take.

My North Country neighbors can't afford air tickets and a suite in Dharamsala. So, given those constraints, solstice worship and Norse deities seem a reasonable fit with the landscape of northern New England. But they'd be a tougher sell in, say, Glasgow or Rotterdam. So what would work in the densely populated parts of western Europe? I've been a

demography bore for years now—pointing out how aging childless French, Belgian, and Dutch populations are surrendering their turf to young fecund Muslims—but, at the risk of piling too many doomsday scenarios atop one another, it's worth noting that Islam is advancing not just by outbreeding but also by conversion.

Herbert Asquith is not the most famous British prime minister to American ears, but he's the one who took his country into the Great War, which is the one that ended the Caliphate and delivered the Arab world into British hands. His great-



From the 'Walk of Islam' fashion show, Berlin, Christmas Day 2004

granddaughter, Emma Clark, is now a Muslim. She's a landscape artist and has designed an "Islamic garden" at the home of the Prince of Wales. The Honorable Jonathan Birt, son of Lord Birt, the former director-general of the BBC, is also a Muslim and is known as Yahya Birt. The Earl of Yarborough is a Muslim, and goes by the name Abdul Mateen, though whether he can get served in the House of Lords tea room under that moniker is unclear.

The above "reverts"—as Islam calls converts—are not merely the Muslim equivalents of the Richard Gere Buddhists and Tom Cruise Scientologists but the vanguard of something bigger. As English and Belgian and Scandinavian cities Islamify, their inhabitants will face a choice between living as a minority and

joining the majority: Not all but many will opt for the latter. At the very minimum, Islam will meet the same test as the hippy-dippy solstice worship does in Vermont: It will seem environmentally appropriate. For many young men, it already provides the sense of identity that the vapid nullity of multiculturalism disdains to offer.

As for the gals, I was startled in successive weeks to hear from both Dutch and English acquaintances that they've begun going out "covered." The Dutch lady lives in a rough part of Amsterdam and says, when you're on the street in Islamic garb, the Muslim men smile at you respectfully instead of jeering at you as an infidel whore. The English lady lives in a swank part of London but says pretty much the same thing. Both felt there was not just a physical but a psychological security in being dressed Muslim. They're not "reverts," but, at least for the purposes of padding the public space, they're passing for Muslim in public.

Where's Christianity in all this? Judging from the name he took, Pope Benedict foresees dark days ahead and his job as being to save European Catholicism. But who will save Protestantism in Europe? The Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, declared during the Afghan campaign that the USAF pilot and the suicide bomber are morally equivalent—both "can only see from a distance: the sort of distance from which you can't see a face, meet the eyes of someone, hear who they are, imagine who and what they love. All violence works with that sort of distance." He'd go into it all in more detail, I'm sure, but his Potemkin church is too busy selling off its buildings. On the BBC the other day, in a desperate attempt to cut himself a slice of the Gaia-worship self-flagellation action, he demanded government "coercion" on everything from road speed, cheap air travel, etc., "if we want the global economy not to collapse and millions, billions of people to die."

Environmentalism doesn't need the support of the church, it's a church in itself. But Britain and Europe could use a vigorous, confident, believing Protestantism right now, and Dr. Williams is earthbound in every sense. Faith abhors a vacuum. **NR**



World's Most Valuable Timepiece Disappears

Back in 1933, the single most important watch ever built was engineered for a quiet millionaire collector named Henry Graves. It took over three years and the most advanced horological technique to create the multifunction masterpiece. This one-of-a-kind watch was to become the most coveted piece in the collection of the Museum of Time near Chicago. Recently this ultra-rare innovation was auctioned off for the record price of \$11,030,000 by Sotheby's to a secretive anonymous collector. Now the watch is locked away in a private vault in an unknown location. We believe that a classic like this should be available to true watch aficionados, so Stauer replicated the exact Graves design in the limited edition Graves '33.

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